

L I F E
AND
PONTIFICATE
OF
LEO THE TENTH.

VOL. II.

THE
L I F E
AND
PONTIFICATE
OF
LEO THE TENTH

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VOL. II.

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Quanti alpestri sentier, quanti palustri
Narrerò io, di morte e sangue pieni,
Pe 'l variar de' regni e stati illustri !

Machiavelli, Decennale, i.

CHAP. VII.

1503—1507.



CAUSES of dissension between the French and Spanish monarchs in the kingdom of Naples—Successes of the French army—Battle between thirteen French and thirteen Italian combatants—Gonsalvo defeats the French, and effects the conquest of Naples—Commutations in Rome—Cæsar Borgia quits the city—Election and short pontificate of Pius III.—The states of Romagna retain their fidelity to Cæsar Borgia—Election of Julius II.—He endeavours to deprive Borgia of his territories—Borgia betrayed by Gonsalvo and sent to Spain—His death and character—Federigo the exiled king of Naples mediates a peace between the French and Spanish monarchs—Defeat of the French on the Garigliano—Death of Piero de' Medici—Marriage of his daughter Clarice to Filippo Strozzi—Moderation and prudence of the cardinal de' Medici—Untimely death of Galeotto della Rovere—Difficulties and embarrassments of the cardinal de' Medici—Death of Ercole, duke of Ferrara, and accession of Alfonso I.—Tragical event in the family of Este—Final expulsion of the French from Naples—Julius II. seizes on the cities of Perugia and Bologna—Ferdinand of Spain visits his Neapolitan dominions—Gonsalvo honoured and neglected—He repents of his errors—Is vindicated by Paolo Giovio.

THE LIFE

OF

LEO THE TENTH.

CHAPTER VII.

IN the course of human events, it is not uncommon that rapacity and injustice find, in the very success of their measures, their own punishment. This was strikingly exemplified in the conquest and dismemberment of the kingdom of Naples, which instead of affording to the victors the advantages they expected, opened the way to new contests, more bloody and destructive than any that Italy had of late experienced. In the partition of that country, it had been agreed that the king of France should possess the districts called Terra di Lavoro and Abruzzi, and the king of Spain those of Appulia and Calabria, as being most contiguous to his Sicilian dominions; but when the commanders of the allied armies began to adjust their respective boundaries, it appeared that their sovereigns had not been sufficiently acquainted with the territories which they claimed, to define the limits in an explicit, or even an intelligible manner. The first difficulty that occurred was re-

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Causes of
dissension
between
the French
and Spanish
monarchs in
the kingdom
of Naples.

pecting the district called Basilicata, the ancient Lucania, which had been allotted in express terms to either of the parties; the Spanish general, Gonsalvo, asserting, that as it actually separated the provinces which were expressly allotted to his master, it must be considered as a part of his dominions. The pretensions of the French general, Louis d' Armagnac, duke of Nemours, rested on the general rights of his sovereign, as king of Naples, to all such parts as had not been particularly conceded by treaty. A similar dispute arose respecting the subdivision of Appulia, called the Capitanato, lying on the confines of Abruzzi, and divided from the rest of Appulia, by the river Ofanto; the French general like the Spanish, insisting on the indispensable utility of this district, to the other dominions of his sovereign, and on its being more properly a part of Abruzzi, than of Appulia. The division of the revenues arising from the pasturage of Appulia, one of the chief sources of the royal income, formed another cause of dissension; and although the commanders had, during the first year, accommodated this dispute by an equal division of the income, yet in the next, each of them endeavoured to obtain as much of it as possible; thereby giving rise, not only to great vexation and dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of Appulia and the principal barons of the kingdom, but to acts of open hostility between the two armies. (a)

Successes of
the French
army.

For the purpose of effecting a pacific adjustment of these differences, a negotiation was opened

(a) *Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 275. Giannone, Storia di Napoli, lib. xxix. cap. iv. vol. iii. p. 400.*

by the intervention of the chief nobility of Naples between the French and Spanish commanders, which was protracted for several months; in the course of which time, the duke of Nemours having repaired to Melfi, and Gonsalvo to Atella, those generals had a personal interview. It was, however, found impracticable to terminate the dispute, and they were therefore under the necessity of referring for its decision to their respective sovereigns; having in the mean time agreed, that neither of them should attempt any innovation on the territories possessed by the other. This truce was not of long duration. The duke of Nemours, confident in the superiority of his forces, and unwilling by delay to allow the Spanish general to recruit his army, of which he had a much greater facility than the French, notified to Gonsalvo, that unless the district of the Capitanato was surrendered to him, he would commence hostilities. This threat he instantly carried into execution, by sending a detachment to occupy the city of Tri-palda, and attempting to possess himself of all the strong places within the Capitanato. The arrival of a reinforcement to the French army of two thousand Swiss and a greater number of Gascons, was a sufficient indication, that Louis XII. chose rather to decide the dispute by arms than by pacific measures. For the purpose of expediting further supplies, that monarch first repaired to Lyons, whence he soon afterwards hastened to Milan, in order to be nearer the theatre of action. (a) These efforts were attended with signal success. The fortress of Canoza, although bravely

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(a) *Giannone*, lib. xxxix, cap. 4, vol. iii. p. 400.

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defended by Pietro Navarro, with six hundred men, was compelled to surrender; and in a short time Gonsalvo was obliged to relinquish not only the Capitanato, but the chief part of the districts of Appulia and Calabria, and to retire for safety to the town of Barletta, near the mouth of the Ofanto, where he was closely besieged by the duke of Nemours. In the mean time d'Aubigny, having sacked the city of Cosenza, and defeated a large body of Spanish and Sicilian troops, overran the rest of the kingdom; and Louis XII. disregarding all former treaties, again asserted his pretensions to the entire dominion of Naples. (a)

Battle between thirteen French and thirteen Italian combatants.

In this situation of affairs, a circumstance occurred which, by attracting the attention, suspended in some degree the operations of the hostile armies, and was probably not without its influence on the subsequent events of the war. Some negotiations having taken place between the French and Spanish commanders, for the exchange of their prisoners, Charles de Torgues, a French officer, visited the town of Barletta, where being invited to supper in the house of Don Enrico di Mendoza, in company with Indico Lopez and Don Pietro d'Origno, prior of Messina, a dispute arose respecting the comparative courage of the French and Italian soldiery, in the course of which de Torgues asserted that the Italians were an effeminate and dastardly people. Lopez replied, that he had himself under his command a troop of Italians, who were not only equal to the French, but on whose courage and fidelity he

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. v. vol. i. p. 275. *Muratori Annali*, vol. x. p. 11.

could as fully rely as if they were his own countrymen. In order to decide this controversy, it was agreed that a combat on horseback should take place between thirteen Frenchmen and thirteen Italians, on condition that the victors should be entitled to the arms and horses of the vanquished, and one hundred gold crowns each. This proposal met with the approbation of the respective commanders, who were probably not displeased with the opportunity afforded them of a short relaxation from the fatigues of war. Four judges were appointed on each side, to determine on the victory, and hostages were mutually given to abide by their decision. (a)

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(a) Muratori has omitted the names of the combatants, observing, that Jovius had suppressed those on the part of the French from respect to their nation ; but Summonte names not only the combatants but the judges and hostages, as under :

COMBATANTS.

FRENCH.

Charles de Torgues.
Marc de Frigne.
Giraut de Forscs.
Claude Graiam d' Asti.
Martellin de Lambris.
Pier de Liaic.
Jacques de la Fontaine.
Eliot de Baraut.
Jean de Landes.
Sacet de Sacet.
François de Pise.
Jacques de Guignes.
Naute de la Fraises.

ITALIANS.

Hettore Fieramosca.
Francesco Salamonc.
Marco Corollario.
Riccio di Palma.
Gulielmo d'Albamonte.
Marino di Abignente.
Giovanni Capozzo.
Giovanni Brancaleone.
Lodovico d'Abenavolo.
Hettore Giovenale.
Bartolommeo Tanfulla.
Romanello da Forli.
Meale Tesi.

JUDGES.

Monsig. di Broglio.
Monsig. di Murtibrach.

Francisco Zurlo.
Diego Vela.

Monsig.

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On the day appointed, which was the thirteenth of February, 1503, the armies met as spectators of the combat, in a plain between the towns of Andre and Corrato, and the chief commanders pledged themselves to each other for the due observance of the stipulated terms. After the Italian combatants had attended the celebration of the mass, Gonsalvo encouraged them by an oration, the tenor of which has been preserved by one of his countrymen, in Spanish verse. (*a*) They then partook of a moderate collation, after which they proceeded to the field of battle, their horses ready caparisoned being led by thirteen captains of infantry. The combatants followed on horseback in complete armour, except their helmets, which, together with their lances, were carried by thirteen gentlemen. Being arrived within a mile of the field they were met by the four Italian judges, who informed them that they had been with the four judges appointed by the French, and had marked out the space for the combat. The Italians were the first in the field, when their leader, Hettore Fieramosca, availed himself of the opportunity of addressing his associates in a speech which the Neapolitan historian, Summonte, has also thought proper to preserve. In a short time the French combatants made their appearance in

Monsig. de Bruct.
Etum Sutte.

Francesco Spinola.
Alonzo Lopez.

HOSTAGES.

Monsig. de Musnai.

Angelo Galeotta.

Monsig. de Dumoble.

Albernuccio Valga.

(*a*) *Summonte, Storia di Napoli*, lib. vi. vol. iii. p. 542. (corr. 609.)

great pomp and with numerous attendants. The adverse parties then quitting their horses and mounting the steeds prepared for them, arrayed themselves in order, and giving their coursers the reins, rushed against each other at full speed. A few lances were broken in the shock, without much injury to either party; but it was observed that the Italians remained firmly united, whilst the French seemed to be dispersed and in some disorder. The combatants then dismounting, attacked each other with swords and battle-axes, and a contest ensued in which both parties displayed great courage, strength, and dexterity, but the result of which was a complete victory to the Italians; the French being all either wounded or made prisoners. (a) The ransom of one hundred crowns not being found upon the persons of the vanquished, the conquerors by the directions of the judges retained their adversaries in custody, and carried them into the town of Barletta, where

(a) Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (*de Poet. suor. tempor. dialog. 1.*) informs us, that the celebrated Girolamo Vida wrote a Latin poem on this event; entitled, *XIII. Italorum pugilum cum totidem Gallis certamen*, which he inscribed to Baldassare Castiglione; but this earnest of the future talents of its author has not been preserved to the present times, *v. Vidæ op. Testimon. 161.* Piero Summonte of Naples, the friend of Sanazzaro, also wrote a copy of Latin verses, addressed to Hettore Fieramosca, which merit perusal. *v. Appendix, No. LII.*

Since the publication of the last edition of the present work, a considerable fragment of the poem of Vida above referred to, has been discovered in MS. at Reggio by *Sig. Cagnoli*, from which Count Bossi in his *Ital. ed. vol. xii. p. 301*, has given the commencement of the poem, as a specimen of this early production of its author. This specimen the reader will find after the lines of Summonte, in *Appendix, No. LII.*

CHAP. Gonsalvo out of his own purse generously paid
 VII. their ransom and restored them to liberty. (a)

A. D. 1503. Amidst the defeats and humiliations which the
 A. Æt. 28. Italians had experienced, it is not surprising that
 their historians have dwelt upon this incident with
 peculiar complacency, as tending to shew that,
 under equal circumstances, their countrymen were
 not inferior either in conduct or courage to their
 invaders. And although a French writer has en-
 deavoured to invalidate some of the facts before
 related, it cannot be doubted that the Italians were
 justly entitled to the honour of the victory. (b)

Unimportant as this event was in itself, it seems
 to have changed the fortune of the war, and to
 have led the way to the numerous defeats and dis-
 asters which the French soon afterwards expe-
 rienced. Gonsalvo, quitting his intrenchments at
 Barletta, assaulted and captured the town of Rufo ;
 taking prisoner the French commander de Pelisse.
 About the same time d'Aubigny was attacked and
 defeated in Calabria by the Spanish general, Ugo
 da Cardona, and was himself severely wounded.

(a) Guicciardini and Muratori assert, that one of the French
 combatants, and several of the horses, were killed on the field ;
 but I have preferred the narrative of Summonte, who seems to
 have been more fully informed of the particulars of this transac-
 tion than any other writer.

(b) “ Monsignor di Belcaire Vescovo di Metz si credette di
 poter sminuire la riputazion de gli Italiani, adducendo alcune par-
 ticularità toccate dal Sabellico intorno a quel duello, quasichè la
 frode, e non la virtù, avesse guadagnata la pugna. Ma quel pre-
 lato non s'intendeva del mestiere dell' armi ; e per la gloria degli
 Italiani altro non occorre rispondergli, se non che i Giudici depu-
 tati a quel conflitto, dichiararono legitima la vittoria ; nè mai i vinti
 o i lor compagni pretesero di darle taccia alcuna.” *Murat. Ann.*
d'Ital. vol. x. p. 22.

A more decisive victory was soon afterwards obtained by the Spaniards in Appulia; nor did the duke of Nemours long survive his defeat. In consequence of these rapid successes, Gonsalvo found himself in possession of the chief part of the kingdom. Distressed by continual tumults and exhausted by famine, the cities of Capua, Aversa, and even Naples, sent deputies to him to testify their obedience, and request his presence. On the fourteenth day of May, 1503, Gonsalvo with his victorious army entered the city of Naples, to the great joy of the inhabitants; against whom he vigilantly restrained his soldiery from committing the slightest outrage; and from this period the crown of Naples has been invariably united with that of Spain, under the government of the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon.

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Gonsalvo
defeats the
French, and
effects the
conquest of
Naples.

At the time of the death of Alexander VI. his son, Cæsar Borgia, was labouring under a severe disorder, occasioned, as has generally been believed, by that poison which he had prepared for others, but which had been inadvertently administered to himself. He was not, however, inactive at this critical period, against which he had endeavoured to provide by all the precautions in his power; nor was there any circumstance, other than his unexpected malady, to which his foresight had not suggested a remedy. (a) No sooner was he informed of the death of the pontiff, than he despatched his confidential adherent Don Michele, with several attendants, to close the gates of the palace. One of these partizans meeting with the cardinal Casanuova, threatened to strangle him and throw

Commo-
tions in
Rome.
Cæsar Bor-
gia quits the
city.

(a) *Machiav. lib. del Principe*, cap. vii. p. 18.

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him through the windows if he did not instantly deliver up to him the keys of the pope's treasure. The cardinal did not long hesitate, and the friends of Borgia, hastening into the interior chambers, seized upon and carried away all the money contained in two chests, amounting to about ten thousand ducats. (a) It is observable, that during the whole time of the indisposition of the pope, he was never once visited by Cæsar Borgia, nor is it less remarkable, that in his last sickness he displayed no particular marks of attachment either to his son or to his daughter, Lucretia. (b) Although Borgia had at this time a considerable body of soldiers in Rome, he conducted himself with great humility towards the sacred college, and expressed his willingness to give assurance of his fidelity by his oath whenever required. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which Borgia undertook to defend the college, collectively and individually, and to protect the nobility and citizens of Rome, for which purpose he was confirmed in his office as captain of the church. (c) No sooner, however, were the death of the pope and the infirmity of Borgia publicly announced, than many of the great barons of the Roman states whom they had deprived of their territories, took up arms to revenge their injuries and repossess themselves of their rights. It was to no pur-

(a) *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. Romani*, vol. i. p. 137.

(b) "Dans ses derniers momens," says M. Brequigny, (*Notices et Extraits des MSS. du Roi*, tom. i. p. 119.) "il parut avoir oublié sa fille Lucrèce qu'il avoit beaucoup trop aimée, et son fils César Borgia, dont il s'étoit tant occupé pendant sa vie. *Nec unquam memor fuit in aliquo minimo verbo.*"

(c) *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef.* vol. i. p. 141.

pose that Cæsar employed all his arts to mitigate their resentment, and gain over to his interest the nobles of the Colonna family, whom he had not outraged with the same cruel policy, that he had exercised towards the Orsini. An aversion to their common enemy united the adverse chiefs of these two houses, and Borgia with his followers was attacked by their combined forces in the streets of Rome. (a) In these commotions upwards of two hundred houses were sacked by the troops of the Orsini, among which was that of the cardinal Cusa. (b) Although courageously defended by his soldiery, and assisted by a few French troops, Borgia was compelled to give way to the violence of the attack, and to take shelter, with his brother, the prince of Squillace, and several of the cardinals who adhered to his interests, in the Vatican. A new negotiation now took place, by which it was at length agreed that the sacred college should assure to Borgia a free and uninterrupted passage through the ecclesiastical states, for himself and his followers, with their necessary provisions, ammunition, and artillery; and should also write to the Venetian senate to request, that he might without interruption retain the possession of his territories in Romagna. On these conditions he promised to depart peaceably from Rome within three days. The leaders of the Colonna and Orsini, also engaged to quit the city and not to approach within ten miles, during the vacancy of the holy see. A proclamation was then made, that no person of whatever rank or

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(a) *Guicciard. Storia d' Italia*, lib. vi. p. 320.

(b) *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef.* vol. i. p. 142.

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condition, should molest Borgia or his followers on their departure; in consequence of which he quitted the city on the second day of August, and directed his course towards Naples. (a)

Election and
short ponti-
ficate of
Pius III.

On receiving information of the vacancy of the holy see, George of Amboise, cardinal of Rouen, had hastened to Rome; not without hopes of obtaining the pontifical authority. He brought with him as supporters of his pretensions the cardinals of Aragon and Ascanio Sforza; the latter of whom had been imprisoned by Louis XII. at the same time with his brother Lodovico, but had shortly before this period been restored to liberty. The recent disasters of the French in Naples were not, however, favourable to the views of the cardinal of Rouen; and on the twenty-second day of September, 1503, the conclave concurred in electing to the supreme dignity Francesco Piccolomini, cardinal of Siena, the nephew of Pius II. and who assumed the name of Pius III. The acknowledged probity, talents, and pacific disposition of this pontiff, gave great reason to hope that his influence and exertions might have a powerful effect in correcting the scandalous disorders of the church, and repressing the dissensions to which Italy had so long been subject. The first measure of this pontificate, which was to call a general council for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, tended to confirm these hopes; but they were suddenly extinguished by the death of the pontiff, after he had enjoyed the supreme dignity only twenty-six days. This event was, according to the fashion of the times, attributed to poison;

(a) *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef.* vol. i. p. 145.

but it was more probably occasioned by the effects of an abscess in the thigh, with which the pontiff was known to have long laboured, and which was perhaps not the least efficient argument for inducing the conclave to raise him to the pontificate. (a)

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A few days after the election of Pius III. Cæsar Borgia returned to Rome, when the contests between him and the Roman barons were renewed with greater violence than before. Many of his adherents lost their lives, and the *Portu del Torrione* was burnt by the troops of the Orsini. Finding himself in imminent danger, he retreated with the consent of the pope to the castle of S. Angelo, accompanied by a few menial attendants and by six of the cardinals who still adhered to his cause. (b)

The states
of Romagna
retain their
fidelity to
Cæsar Bor-
gia.

(a) On this event Angelo Colocci produced, in an epitaph on the pontiff, the following severe sarcasm on his predecessor, Alexander VI.

“Tertius hic Pius est, qui summum ad culmen ab ipsa
Virtute evectus, protinus interiit.
Nec mirum, quia peste atra, qui sederat ante,
Sextus Alexander pollucrat Solium.”

Op. lat. Colotii, p. 112.

(b) Sanazzaro, invariably hostile to the family of Borgia, has commemorated this event in the following exulting lines:

“Qui modo prostratos jactarat cornibus *Ursos*,
In latebras *Taurus* concitus ecce fugit.
Nec latebras putat esse satis sibi; Tibride toto
Cingitur, et notis vix bene fidit aquis.
Terruerat montes mugitibus; obvia nunc est,
Et facilis cuivis præda sine arte capi.
Sed tamen id magnum; nuper potuisse vel *Ursos*
Sternere, nunc omnes posse timere feras.
Ne tibi, Roma, novæ desint spectacula *Pompæ*;
Amphitheatrales reddit arena *jocos.*”

Epig. lib. i. ep. 14.

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In the mean time many of the lords whom Borgia had dispossessed returned to their dominions. The Baglioni again occupied Perugia, the Vitelli entered the city of Castello, the duke of Urbino returned to his capital, (a) and the lords of Pesaro, Camerino, Piombino, and Sinigaglia, were restored to their authority as suddenly as they had been deprived of it. Several of the cities of Romagna retained, however, their fidelity to their new sovereign, having found by experience the superior advantages derived from their union under his government, compared to that of their former princes, whose power, though sufficient to oppress, was inadequate to defend them. To this decisive partiality in favour of Cæsar Borgia, they were also incited by the attention which he had paid to the strict administration of justice, which had freed them from the hordes of banditti by whom they had been infested, and suppressed the feuds and assassinations to which they had before been subject. (b) Hence neither the defection of other places, nor even their apprehensions of the Venetians, who were already preparing to take advantage of their unprotected situation, could induce

(a) Notwithstanding the representation given by Bembo, of the affection of the subjects of Urbino for their sovereign, he did not recover his dominions without great difficulty. On this occasion Castiglione, who had the command of a company of cavalry in the service of the duke, dislocated his ancle by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which he went to Urbino, where he was most kindly received by the duchess Elisabetta, to whom he was related, and by Madonna Emilia Pia, who resided at that court. His acquaintance with these accomplished women completed what may be called his education, and he became the *Chesterfield* of the age. *v. Vita di Bald. Castiglione*, p. 11.

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. vi. vol. i. p. 316.*

those cities to waver in their fidelity or to listen to proposals from any other quarter.

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On the death of Pius III. the cardinal de' Medici and two of his brethren were appointed by the college to receive the oath of fidelity from Monsignor Marco, bishop of Sinigaglia, keeper of the castle of S. Angelo. (a) The loss of the pontiff was an additional misfortune to Borgia, as it opened the way for the assumption to the pontificate of Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincula, the ancient and most determined enemy of his family. Of the dissensions of this prelate with Alexander VI. various instances are related; but amidst the many opprobrious epithets which they were accustomed to bestow on each other, Alexander had the magnanimity to acknowledge that his opponent was a man of veracity. Such a concession from such a quarter raised the credit of the cardinal more than all the animosity of the pope could depress it, and Giuliano, well aware that no one can deceive so effectually as he who has once acquired a reputation for sincerity, is said to have availed himself of this circumstance to secure his election, which, if we may believe Guicciardini, was not effected without some sacrifice of his former good character. (b) On this occasion the cardinal affected to lay aside his enmity to Cæsar Borgia, and a treaty was concluded between them, by which the cardinal engaged, that if he should, by the assistance of Borgia, be raised to the pontificate, he would confer upon him the dignity of *Gonfaloniere*, or general

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A. F. 28.
Election of
Julius II.

(a) *Burch. diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef.* vol. i. p. 153.

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital.* lib. vi. vol. i. p. 321.

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of the church, and confirm his authority in the states of Romagna. (a) This project was successful; Giuliano attained his wishes; but no sooner had he ascended the papal throne than he gave sufficient indications of his former animosity; and Borgia was too late aware of an error which was the occasion of his ruin, and which is enumerated by Machiavelli as one of the few mistakes of his political life. (b)

Notwithstanding the hostile and treacherous conduct of Cæsar Borgia towards Guidubaldo di Montifeltro, duke of Urbino, it appears that during the dissensions that ensued, the duke not only became reconciled to Borgia, but was the means, by his intercession with the new pontiff, of saving his life. In the *Life of the Duke*, by Bernardino Baldi, preserved in the library of the Marquis Antaldi at Pesaro, and unknown both to Mazzuchelli and Affò, is a dialogue between the duke and Cæsar Borgia, which has been published by Count Giulio Perticari, and afterwards by Count Bossi, in the Italian edition of the present work; (c) the latter of whom has justly observed, that “it would be difficult to find elsewhere a more striking representation of the character of Cæsar Borgia, than this dialogue affords.” (d)

(a) *Burchard. diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. Guicciard. Stor. d'Ital. lib. vi. vol. i. p. 322.*

(b) “Chi crede che ne' personaggi grandi i beneficii nuovi facino dimenticare l'ingiurie vecchie, s'inganna. Errò adunque il duca (Borgia) in questa clettione, e fu cagione dell'ultima rovina sua.” *Mach. lib. del Principe, cap. vii.*

(c) Vol. iii. p. 188.

(d) This piece will be found reprinted, after the verses of Augurelli, in the Appendix, No. LIII.

On assuming his high office the new pontiff adopted the name of Julius II. and soon proved himself to be one of the most active, warlike, and politic sovereigns that had ever sat in the chair of St. Peter. (a) The Venetians, proceeding from Ravenna, which they before possessed, had already made an irruption into Romagna, and not only subjugated the city and fortress of Faenza, but gave evident demonstrations of their designs upon the other cities of that district. These measures occasioned no small anxiety to the pope, who had proposed to himself the preservation and extension of the territories of the church as the great object of his pontificate. An embassy from him to the Venetian senate, entreating them to desist from their pretensions, was of no avail; but as several of the cities of Romagna still retained their allegiance to Borgia, the pontiff thought it expedient to make use of him as the most effectual instrument, for preventing the total separation of these states from the Roman see. He therefore seized upon the person of Borgia, who had proceeded to the port of Ostia, intending to embark for France, and required, that before his liberation he should consign to him the possession of

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A. E. 26.

The pope attempts to divest Borgia of his territories.

(a) The elevation of Julius II. which took place on the twenty-ninth day of October, has been celebrated in many of the Latin poems of Augurelli, who may be considered as the poet-laureat of that pontiff. One of these pieces is given in the Appendix, No. LIII.

From the martial spirit of this pontiff, it was supposed that he had assumed the name of *Julius* in reference to Julius Cæsar.

“Purpureum plebs uncta caput creat auspice tandem
Julium, et, ut memorant, a magno Cæsare dictum.”

Mantuani Vincentii, Alba. ap. Carm. illustr.
Ital. vol. xi. p. 338.

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the different fortresses in the district of Romagna. This, Borgia at first refused; but being detained for some days as a prisoner, he at length complied and gave the necessary countersigns for surrendering up the fortresses. The archbishop of Ragusa was immediately despatched to obtain possession; but the commanders, still attached to their leader, refused to deliver them up under any orders obtained from him whilst under restraint. On this spirited measure Borgia was again restored to liberty, highly caressed by the pope, and provided with apartments in the Vatican. His orders to deliver up the fortresses of Romagna were again repeated; and as a proof of his sincerity he despatched one of his confidential adherents, Pietro d'Oviedo, with directions to the different commanders to the same purpose. This second attempt was equally ineffectual with the former. No sooner did Oviedo, accompanied by Moschiavellar, the pope's chamberlain, arrive at the castle of Cesena, then commanded by Don Diego Ramiro, than that officer caused him to be seized upon and instantly hanged as a traitor to his sovereign. When the information of this event arrived at Rome, Cæsar was again deprived of his liberty and sent to occupy a remote apartment in the Torre Borgia. (a)

Borgia betrayed by Gonsalvo and sent to Spain.

In this situation a new negotiation commenced between Borgia and the pontiff, in the result of which it was agreed that Borgia should be committed to the charge of Bernardino Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce, and conveyed to Ostia, where he should be liberated as soon as informa-

(a) *Burchard. Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef.* vol. i. p. 163.

tion was received that his governors in Romagna had delivered up their trust. Several of the commanders now obeyed the directions of their prince, and the cardinal thereupon gave him permission to proceed to France, which he had pretended was his intention. He had however already obtained a passport from the Spanish general Gonsalvo, who had despatched two galleys to Ostia to convey him with his attendants to Naples.^(a) He accordingly embarked for that place, and was received by Gonsalvo with every demonstration of kindness and respect. The hopes of Borgia now began once more to revive. The commander of the fortress of Forlì still held the place in his name. Gonsalvo promised him a supply of galleys, and gave him liberty to engage soldiers within the kingdom of Naples, for an attempt on the city of Pisa, or the Tuscan territories. Bartolommeo d'Alviano, then at Naples, earnestly desirous of restoring the Medici to Florence, offered himself as an associate in his undertaking. But whilst Gonsalvo was thus flattering his ambitious projects, he had secretly despatched a messenger into Spain, to request directions from Ferdinand in what manner he should dispose of the dangerous person, who had thus confided in his protection. The activity and credit of Borgia had raised a considerable armament; the galleys were prepared for sea, and on the evening previous to the day fixed upon for their departure he had an interview with Gonsalvo, in the course of which he received from the Spaniard the warmest expressions of attachment, and was dismissed with an affectionate embrace. No sooner

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(a) *Guicciard. Stor. d' Ital.* lib. vi. p. 339.

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however had he quitted the chamber, than he was seized upon by the orders of Gonsalvo, who alleged that he had received directions from his sovereign which superseded the effect of his own passport. (a) Being committed to the charge of his ancient adversary Prospero Colonna, he was soon afterwards put on board a galley and conveyed to Spain. The conduct of Colonna on this occasion is highly honourable to his feelings; for in the execution of his commission he was so far from insulting his captive, that he is said to have avoided even fixing his eyes upon him during the whole voyage, lest he should appear to exult over a fallen enemy. (b)

On the arrival of Borgia in Spain he was confined a close prisoner in the castle of Medina del Campo, where he remained for the space of two years. Having at length effected his escape, he fled to his brother-in-law, John d'Albert, king of Navarre, in whose service he remained for several years in high military command, and at length fell by a shot in an action under the walls of Viana. From that place his body was conveyed to Pampe-

(a) Some readers may perhaps be inclined to exclaim,

“ Nec lex est justior ulla

Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.”

But it should be remembered, that although it be a proper cause of exultation, when a villain falls by the consequences of his own crime, it will not follow, that he ought to perish by the crime of another.

(b) *Jovius in vita Gonsalvi*, p. 257. Sanazzaro did not, however, omit this opportunity of expressing his joy in his well known lines :

“ O Taure, præsens qui fugis periculum.”

Epig. lib. i. ep. 15.

luna and deposited in the cathedral, of which he had once been prelate. (a)

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Of this extraordinary character it may with truth be observed, that his activity, courage, and perseverance, were equal to the greatest attempts. In the pursuit of his object he overlooked or overleaped all other considerations; when force was ineffectual he resorted to fraud; and whether he thundered in open hostility at the gates of a city, or endeavoured to effect his purpose by negotiation and treachery, he was equally irresistible. If we may confide in the narrative of Guicciardini, cruelty, rapine, injustice, and lust, are only particular features in the composition of this monster; yet it is difficult to conceive that a man so totally unredeemed by a single virtue, should have been enabled to maintain himself at the head of a powerful army; to engage in so eminent a degree the favour of the people conquered; to form alliances with the first sovereigns of Europe; to destroy or overturn the most powerful families of Italy, and to lay the foundations of a dominion, of which it is acknowledged that the short duration is to be attributed rather to his ill-fortune and the treachery of others, than either to his errors or his crimes. If, how-

(a) “ ——— haud dubie,” says Jovius,⁴ “ rapiente fato ad eam urbem cujus Antistes antea fuerat.” To which he adds with great gravity, “ Neque enim quisquam fere repertus est, qui quum sese susceptis semel sacris abdicarit, tranquillam vitæ exitum tulisse censeatur.” *Jov. in vita Gonsalv. lib. iii. p. 275.*

“ The count *Ferdinando Marscalchi*, had undertaken a dramatic piece on the subject of *Cæsar Borgia*, which he thought “*Tragico per eccellenza*,” but did not live to complete it. Such of his friends as have seen a portion of it, speak highly of its merits.” (*Notc of Count Bossi, Ital. ed. p. 30.*)

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ever, he has been too indiscriminately condemned by one historian, he has in another met with as zealous and as powerful an encomiast, and the maxims of the politician are only the faithful record of the transactions of his hero. On the principles of Machiavelli, Borgia was the greatest man of the age. (a) Nor was he in fact, without qualities which in some degree compensated for his demerits. Courageous, munificent, eloquent, and accomplished in all the exercises of arts and arms, he raised an admiration of his endowments which kept pace with and counterbalanced the abhorrence excited by his crimes. That even these crimes have been exaggerated, is highly probable. (b) His enemies were numerous, and the certainty of his guilt in some instances gave credibility to every imputation that could be devised against him. That he retained, even after he had survived his prosperity, no inconsiderable share of public estimation, is evident from the fidelity and attachment shewn to him on many occasions. After his death, his memory and achievements were celebrated by one of the most elegant Latin poets that Italy has pro-

(a) “ Se adunque si considererà tutti i progressi del Duca, si vedrà quanto lui havesse fatto gran fondamenti alla futura potenza, li quali non giudico superfluo discorrere; perchè io non saprei quali precetti mi dare migliori ad uno Principe nuovo, che lo esempio delle attoni sue. E se gli ordini suoi non gli giovarono, non fu sua colpa, perchè nacque da una straordinaria e estrema malignità di fortuna.” *Machiav. lib. del Princ. cap. viii. p. 15.*

(b) ‘The character of Cæsar Borgia is ably and impartially considered in the *General Biography*, published by Dr. Aikin, and others, vol. ii. p. 234. London, 1800, 4to. A work, which does not implicitly adopt prescriptive errors, but evinces a sound judgment, a manly freedom of sentiment, and a correct taste.

duced. The language of poetry is not indeed always that of truth; but we may at least give credit to the account of the personal accomplishments and warlike talents of Borgia; (a) although we may indignantly reject the spurious praise, which places him among the heroes of antiquity, and at the summit of fame. (b)

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On receiving intelligence of the defeat of his generals, and the loss of his lately acquired dominions in the kingdom of Naples, Louis XII. was greatly mortified, and immediately began to take measures for repairing those disasters which his earlier vigilance might have prevented. Not satisfied with despatching a powerful reinforcement through the papal states into the kingdom of Naples, under the command of the duke de la Tremouille, he determined to attack his adversary in his Spanish dominions. For this purpose large bodies of French troops entered the provinces of Roussillon and Fontarabia, whilst a powerful fleet

Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, mediates a peace between the French and Spanish monarchs.

(a) "Non quisquam ingenio melior, non promptior ore,
Non gravior vultu, non vi præstantior, altos
Si celcrem supersedere equos, jaculumque, sudemque,
Amento, atque agili procul exturbare lacerto," &c.

(b) "Ille diu vixit, qui dum celestibus auris
Vescitur, implet onus laudis, cælumque meretur," &c.
*Cæsar Borgia Ducis Epicedium, per Herculem Strozam,
ad Divam Lucretiam Borgiam Ferrariæ Ducem. int.
Strozæ Pat. et Fil. Poemata, Ald. 1513.*

That Cæsar Borgia, like most of the eminent men of his time, aspired to the character of a poet, is considered as highly probable by Crescimbeni, *Della volgar Poesia*, vol. v. p. 63. Quadrio has also on this authority, enumerated him among his Italian writers; to which, however, he adds, "Come che siamo persuasi che la poesia, che non s' apprende che ad anime signorili e ben fatte, non fosse pane per li suoi denti." *Storia d' ogni poesia*, vol. ii. p. 320.

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was directed to infest the coasts of Valencia and Catalonia. These great preparations were not however followed by the expected consequences. An attempt upon the fortress of Paolo, near the city of Narbonne, was frustrated by the courage of the Spanish garrison ; and whilst the ardour of the French was checked by this unexpected opposition, Ferdinand himself took the field, and at the head of his army compelled his adversaries to retire within the limits of the French territory, where he had the moderation not to pursue his advantages. Nor were the achievements of the French fleet of greater importance ; the commanders having, after many fruitless attempts upon the Spanish coast, been obliged to take refuge in Marseilles. At this period an event occurred which exhibits the conduct of the contending monarchs in a singular point of view. A negotiation was entered into between them for the restoration of peace, and the mediator to whom they agreed to appeal for the reconciliation of their differences was Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, the partition of whose dominions had given rise to the war. In the course of these discussions Federigo was alternately flattered by both parties with the hopes of being restored to his crown ; and so far had he obtained the favour of Anne of Bretagne, the queen of Louis XII. that she earnestly entreated the king to concur in this measure. It is not however to be supposed that it was the intention of either of the contending monarchs to perform such an act of disinterested justice ; on the contrary, the pretext of appealing to the decision of Federigo was probably only employed

by each of them for the purpose of obtaining from the other more advantageous terms.

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The duke de la Tremouille having united his troops with those of his countrymen at Gaeta, and being reinforced by the marquis of Mantua, who had now entered into the service of the French, possessed himself of the duchy of Trajetto and the district of Fondi, as far as the river Garigliano. He was, however, soon opposed by Gonsalvo, who had been joined by Bartolommeo d'Alviano, at the head of a considerable body of troops. The French, disadvantageously posted on the marshy banks of the river, had thrown a bridge over it, intending to proceed by the speediest route to Naples; but Gonsalvo, having arrived at S. Germano, was induced by the remonstrances of d'Alviano to attack them before they could effect their passage. On the night of the twenty-eighth day of December, 1503, (a) the Spaniards formed another bridge at Suio, about four miles above the French camp, over which Gonsalvo secretly passed with a considerable part of his army. On the following morning the French were suddenly attacked by d'Alviano, who carried the bridge which they had erected, and when the engagement became general, Gonsalvo taking the French in the rear, routed them with an immense slaughter, and pursued them as far as Gaeta, which place he soon afterwards reduced. (b)

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Defeat of
the French
on the Ga-
rigliano.

This day terminated the unfortunate life of Piero de' Medici, who had engaged in the service

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 25.

(b) The victory of Gonsalvo is celebrated in a Latin ode, addressed to him by Crinitus. v. *Appendix*, No. LIV.

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Death of
Piero de'
Medici.

of the French, and taken a principal part in the action ; but finding all hopes of assistance frustrated, and being desirous of rendering his friends all the services in his power, he embarked on board a galley with several other persons of rank, intending to convey to Gaeta four heavy pieces of artillery, which he had prevented from falling into the hands of the conquerors. The weight of these pieces, and probably the number of passengers who endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity to effect their escape, occasioned the vessel to founder ; and it was not until several days afterwards that the body of Piero was recovered from the stream. (a) He left by his wife Alfonsina Orsino, a son, Lorenzo, who was born on the thirteenth day of September, 1492, and will frequently occur to our future notice ; and a daughter named Clarice. In his days of gaiety, and amidst the delights of Florence, Piero had assumed a device intended to characterize his temper and pursuits, to which Politiano had supplied him with an appropriate motto. (b) His

(a) Valerianus informs us that Piero perished in the port of Gaeta and in the presence of his wife ; at the same time he bears testimony to his learning and accomplishments, “ vir et Græcis et Latinis literis optime, quod omnes fateamini, peritus. Nam hoc et scripta ejus indicant, et quædam ex Plutarcho de Amore conjugali, quæ vidimus, traducta ab eo, locupletissime testantur.” *Valer. de literator. infelicitate*, lib. ii. p. 113. At the same time perished Fabio, the son of Paolo Orsino, a young man of very uncommon endowments, the relation and constant companion of Piero de' Medici. Of his early proficiency and extraordinary talents, Politiano has left an interesting account. Lib. xii. Ep. ii. *et v. Greswell's Memoirs of Politian*, §c. p. 145, 2nd ed.

(b) This device represented green branches, interwoven together, and placed in the midst of flames, with the motto, *In viridi*

misfortunes or his misconduct soon provided him with more serious occupations; and ten years of exile and disappointment consumed the vigour of a life which had opened with the most favourable prospects. In the year 1552, Cosmo I. grand-duke of Tuscany, erected to the memory of his kinsman a splendid monument at Monte Cassino, with an inscription commemorating, not indeed his virtues, nor his talents, but his high family-connexions and his untimely death. (a)

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The death of Piero de' Medici seems to have been the period from which the fortunes of his house once more began to revive; nor is it difficult to discover the reasons of so favourable a change. The aversion and indignation of the Florentines were directed against the individual rather than against the family; and soon after the death of Piero, his widow Alfonsina was allowed to return to Florence and claim her rights of dower from the property of her husband. Of this opportunity she diligently availed herself to dispose the minds of the citizens to favour the cause of the Medici; and in order more effectually to promote the interests of her family, she negotiated a marriage between her daughter Clarice and Filippo Strozzi, a young nobleman of great wealth and extraordinary accomplishments. This marriage was celebrated shortly after the return of

Marriage of
Clarice de'
Medici to
Filippo
Strozzi.

teneras exurit flamma medullas. v. *Annir. Ritratti d'huomini illustri di Casa Medici*; in *Opuscoli*, vol. iii. p. 62.

(a) "PETRO MEDICI MAGNI LAURENTII F. LEONIS X. PONTIF. MAX. FRATRI CLEMENTIS VII. PATRUELI. QUI QUUM GALLORUM CASTRA SEQUERETUR, EX ADVERSO PRÆLIO AD LYRIS OSTIUM NAUFRAGIO PERIIT. ANNO AET. XXXIII. COSMAS MEDICES FLORENT. DUX, PONI CURAVIT. M.D.LII."

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Alfonsina to Rome ; but no sooner was it known to the magistrates of Florence, than they cited Filippo to appear before them, and notwithstanding the utmost efforts of his friends, condemned him to pay five hundred gold crowns, and banished him for three years into the kingdom of Naples. At the same time Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero, was declared a rebel to the state. These proceedings did not however prevent Clarice from paying frequent visits to Florence, where she maintained a strict intercourse with the Salviati, the Rucellai, and other families connected by the ties of relationship or friendship with the house of Medici ; and although Filippo Strozzi returned before the expiration of the term prescribed, and took up his residence with his wife in Florence, yet no measures were adopted either to punish him or to remand him into banishment ; a circumstance which the friends of the Medici did not fail to notice as a striking indication of the strength of their cause. (a)

Moderation
and pru-
dence of the
cardinal de'
Medici.

The inconsiderate conduct, the ambitious views, and the impetuous and arrogant disposition of Piero de' Medici, had been always strongly contrasted by the mild and placable temper of the cardinal ; who, although he on all occasions adhered to his brother as the chief of his family, had always endeavoured to sooth the violence of those passions and to moderate those aspiring pretensions, which after having occasioned his expulsion from Florence, still continued to operate, and effectually precluded his return. During the latter part of the pontificate of Alexander VI. the

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cardinal de' Medici had fixed his residence at Rome; where, devoted to a private life, he had the address and good-fortune, if not to obtain the favour of that profligate pontiff, at least to escape his resentment. The election of Julius II. to the pontificate opened to him the prospect of brighter days. It is true, Julius was the nephew of Sixtus IV. the inveterate enemy of the Medicean name; but these ancient antipathies had long been converted into attachment and esteem. Under the favour of this pontiff the cardinal had an opportunity of indulging his natural disposition to the cultivation of polite letters and the promotion of works of art. (a) His books, though not numerous, were well chosen, and his domestic hours were generally spent in the society of such dignified and learned ecclesiastics, as could at times condescend to lay aside the severity of their order to discuss the characteristics of generous actions, the obligations of benevolence and affection, the comparative excellences of the fine arts, or the nature and essence of human happiness. On these subjects the cardinal never failed to distinguish himself by his urbanity, his acuteness, and his eloquence. (b) In deciding upon the productions of architecture, of painting, and of sculpture, his taste seemed to be hereditary, and he was resorted to by artists in every department as to an infallible judge. With music he was theoretically and

(a) Pietro Bembo, writing to Bernardo da Bibbiena, the domestic secretary of the cardinal says, "Al vostro e mio S. cardinale de' Medici renderete quelle grazie del suo dolce e cortese animo nelle cose mie, che sono a tanto debito convenienti." *In Bembi op.* iii. 191.

(b) *Jovius, in Vita Leon. X.* lib. ii. p. 29, &c.

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practically conversant, and his house more frequently re-echoed with the sprightly harmony of concerts than with the solemn sounds of devotion. Debarred by his profession from the exercises of the camp, he addicted himself with uncommon ardour to the chase, as the best means of preserving his health and preventing that corpulency to which he was naturally inclined. This amusement he partook of in common with a numerous band of noble associates, of whom he was considered as the leader; nor did he desist from this exercise even after his attainment to the supreme ecclesiastical dignity.

The good understanding which subsisted between Julius II. and the cardinal de' Medici, was further strengthened by means of Galeotto della Rovere, the nephew of the pope, with whom the cardinal had contracted a strict friendship. This young man was not less the object of the admiration of the court and people of Rome, than he was the favourite of his uncle. Engaging in his manners, elegant in his person, liberal and magnificent in all his conduct, he well merited the high honours bestowed upon him by the pope, who immediately on his elevation transferred to his nephew the cardinal's hat which he had himself worn, and on the death of Ascanio Sforza nominated him vice-chancellor of the holy see. (a) Such was the effect produced by the conciliatory manners of the cardinal de' Medici on his young friend, who from the advanced age of his uncle, did not conceive

(a) *Jovius in Vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 29.* Several letters to Galeotto from Pietro Bembo, are given in *Bemb. op.* vol. iii. p. 6, &c. highly favourable to the character of the young cardinal.

that he would long enjoy the pontificate, that Galeotto is said to have promised the cardinal, who had not yet attained his thirtieth year, that he should succeed to that high dignity; alleging that it was an office more proper for a man in the prime and vigour of life, than for one already exhausted by labour and declining into years. Galeotto himself did not however survive to witness the completion of his promise; for whilst Julius maintained his own dignity and enforced the claims of the church, during an interval of ten years, with an unexampled degree of activity and perseverance, Galeotto fell, in the prime of youth, a sacrifice to the effects of a violent fever which in a few days consigned him to the grave. The sumptuous parade of his funeral afforded no consolation for his loss to the cardinal de' Medici, who had assiduously attended him in his last moments, and performed towards him all the duties of religion and affection. Deprived of his friend in the ardour of youth, whilst the happiness of the present was increased by the prospect of the future, he long remained inconsolable, and when time had softened his sorrow, the name of Galeotto was never adverted to, even in his most cheerful moments, without exciting the symptoms of affectionate remembrance. (a)

In the measures adopted by the cardinal for effecting his restoration to his native place, he was now no longer in danger of being counteracted by the ill-timed efforts and impetuosity of his brother. Although this was the constant object of his solicitude, and he was now considered

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Untimely
death of Ga-
leotto della
Rovere.

Difficulties
and embar-
rassments of
the cardinal
de' Medici.

(a) *Jovius in vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 29.*

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as the chief of his family, he shewed no disposition to interfere in the concerns, or to disturb the repose of the Florentines, who under the dictatorship of Pietro Soderini, continued to labour with the difficulties of their government and the obstinacy of their rebellious subjects, and to maintain at least the name of a republic. It was not however without frequent opposition and mortification that Soderini exercised his authority. Many of the citizens of the first rank, still attached to the cause of the Medici, continued to harass him in all his designs and to oppose all his measures; but the industry, patience, and perseverance of the *gonfaloniere*, gradually blunted their resentment and weakened their efforts, whilst the various and unsuccessful attempts of Piero de' Medici to regain the city of Florence by force, had increased the aversion of his countrymen and placed an insuperable bar to his return. In these expeditions the resources of the family were exhausted, inso-much that the cardinal found no small difficulty in supporting the dignity of his rank, to which his ecclesiastical revenues were inadequate. He struggled with these humiliating circumstances to the utmost of his power; but the liberality of his disposition too often exceeded the extent of his finances, and a splendid entertainment was at times deranged by the want of some essential, but unattainable article. Even the silver utensils of his table were occasionally pledged for the purpose of procuring that feast, of which they ought to have been the chief ornaments. That these circumstances occasioned him considerable anxiety cannot be doubted; for whilst on the one

hand he was unwilling to detract from that character of liberality and munificence which was suitable to his rank, and to the high expectations which he still continued to entertain; on the other hand he dreaded the disgrace of being wanting in the strict discharge of his pecuniary engagements. He carefully however avoided giving, even in the lowest ebb of his fortunes, the slightest indications of despondency. His temper was cheerful, his conversation animated, and his appearance and manners betrayed not the least symptom of his domestic embarrassments, for the relief of which he seemed to depend upon a timely and providential supply. (a) Nor was he in general disappointed in his hopes; for the same good fortune which prepared the way to his highest honours attended him in his greatest difficulties, and enabled him to extricate himself from them with admirable dexterity and irreproachable honour. To the remonstrances of his more prudent friends, who were fearful that his liberality would at length involve him in actual distress, he was accustomed to reply, as if with a presage of his future destiny, that great men were the work of providence, and that nothing could be wanting to them if they were not wanting to themselves. (b)

In the early part of the year 1505, died Ercole

(a) From a letter of Gregorio Cortese, addressed to the cardinal de' Medici, it appears, that even at this period he had begun to emulate the example of his ancestors, in the promotion of public institutions for religious purposes. v. *Appendix*, No. LV.

(b) " — insignes viros cœlesti sorte fieri magnos, præterea nihil eis unquam posse deficere, nisi ipsi animis omnino deficerent." *Jovius, in Vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 31.*

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A. Æt. 30.Death of Er-
cole, duke
of Ferrara,
and acces-
sion of Al-
fonso I.

of Este, duke of Ferrara, (a) after having governed his states with great credit both in war and in peace, during thirty-four years, of which the latter part had been devoted to the embellishing and enlarging of his capital, the promotion of the happiness of his subjects, and to the protection and encouragement of the sciences and arts. (b) His great qualities and heroic actions are celebrated by the pen of Ariosto; who asserts, however, that the advantages which his people derived from them, were inferior to the blessings which he conferred on them, in leaving two such sons as Alfonso and Ippolito. (c) In the preceding year his

(a) He died on the twenty-sixth of January, the very day which he had fixed on for the representation of a comedy for the amusement of the people. v. *Giraldi, Commentarii delle Cose di Ferrara*, p. 137.

(b) v. *ante*, vol. i. chap. ii. p. 82. "Alexander VI. in his bull of investiture, applauds the useful labours of Hercules I. which had increased the numbers and happiness of his people, which had adorned the city of Ferrara with strong fortifications and stately edifices, and which had reclaimed a large extent of unprofitable waste. The vague and spreading banks of the Po were confined in their proper channels by moles and dykes, the intermediate lands were converted to pasture and tillage; the fertile district became the granary of Venice, and the corn-exports of a single year were exchanged for the value of two hundred thousand ducats." v. *Gibbon's Antiq. of Brunswick, in op. posth.* vol. ii. p. 691.

(c) "E quanto più aver obbligo si possa
A principe, sua terra havrà a costui;
Non perchè fia de le paludi mossa
Tra campi fertilissimi da lui;
Non perchè la farà con muro e fossa
Meglio capace a' cittadini sui;
E l' ornerà di templi e di palagi,
Di piazze, di teatri, e di mille agi;

eldest son Alfonso had visited the courts of France and Spain, but at the time when he received intelligence of the dangerous malady of his father he was in England, whence he hastened to Ferrara, and his father dying before his arrival he peaceably assumed the government. (a) As the state of Ferrara at this time enjoyed perfect tranquillity, the duke turned his attention to the mechanic arts, in which he became not only a skilful judge, but a practical proficient. His mind was, however, too comprehensive to suffer him to waste his talents on objects of mere amusement. After having excelled the best artificers of his time, he began to devote himself to the improvement of artillery. Under his directions cannon were cast of a larger size and better construction than had before been seen in Italy. (b) Of the use which he made of these formidable implements repeated instances will occur; nor is it improbable that to these fortunate preparations he owed the preservation of his dominions, amidst the dangerous con-

Non perchè da gli artigli de' l' audace
 Aligero Leon, terrà difesa;
 Non perchè quando la Gallica face
 Per tutto avrà la bella Italia accesa,
 Si starà solo co'l suo stato in pace,
 E dal timor e da tributi illesa;
 Non sì per questi e altri benefici,
 Saran sue genti ad Ercol' debitrice;
 Quanto che darà lor l' inclita prole
 Il giusto Alfonso, e Ippolito benigno," &c.

Orl. Fur. cant. iii. st. 48, &c.

(a) *Jovius, in vita Alfonsi Ducis Ferrariæ*, p. 153. *Murat. Anal. d' Ital.* vol. x. p. 29.

(b) *Jovius, in vita Alfonsi*, p. 154. *Sardi. Hist. Ferrarese*, lib. xi. p. 204.

CHAP.
VII.A. D. 1505.
A. Aet. 30.Tragical
event in the
family of
Este.

tests in which he was soon afterwards compelled to take an important part.

The commencement of the reign of Alfonso I. was marked by a most tragical event, which endangered his safety, and destroyed or interrupted his domestic tranquillity. Besides his two sons before mentioned, of whom Ippolito, the younger, had been raised to the dignity of a cardinal, the late duke had left by his wife Leonora, daughter of Ferdinand I. of Naples, a son named Ferdinand, and by a favourite mistress an illegitimate son called Don Giulio. Attracted by the beauty of a lady of Ferrara, to whom they were distantly related, the cardinal and Don Giulio became rivals in her affections; but the latter had obtained the preference, and the lady herself, in confessing to Ippolito her partiality to his brother, dwelt with apparent pleasure on the extraordinary beauty of his eyes. The exasperated ecclesiastic silently vowed revenge, and availing himself of an opportunity, whilst he was engaged with Don Giulio in the chase, he surrounded him with a band of assassins, and, compelling him to dismount, with a diabolical pleasure saw them deprive him of the organs of sight. (a) The moderation or negligence

(a) Muratori says, that the cardinal only *attempted* to put out the eyes of Don Giulio; but he justly adds, “con barbarie detestata da ognuno,” *Annal. d’ Ital.* vol. x. p. 34. And Guicciardini admits, that he did not lose his sight; or rather he seems to assert, that after his eyes were extruded, they were *replaced again* by a careful hand! “Al quale dal Cardinale erano stati tratti gli occhi, ma *riposti* senza perdita del lume *nel luogo loro*, per presta et diligente cura de’ Medici.” *Hist. d’ Ital.* lib. vii. vol. i. p. 369. *v. et Jov. in vita Alfonsi*, p. 154. *Gibbon’s Antiq. of Brunswick*, in *op post.* vol. ii. p. 701.

of Alfonso, in suffering this atrocious deed to remain unpunished, excited the resentment not only of Don Giulio, but of his brother Ferdinand, who, uniting together, endeavoured by secret treachery to deprive Alfonso at once of his honours and his life. Their purposes were discovered, and after having confessed their crime they were both condemned to die. The fraternal kindness of Alfonso was not, however, wholly extinguished, and at the moment when the axe was suspended over them, he transmuted their punishment to that of perpetual imprisonment. In this state Ferdinand remained until the time of his death in 1540, whilst Giulio, at the expiration of fifty-four years of captivity, was once more restored to liberty. These events, which throw a gloom over the family-lustre of the House of Este, and mark the character of the cardinal with an indelible stain, are distinctly though delicately adverted to in the celebrated poem of Ariosto. (a)

CHAP.
VII.

A. D. 1505.
A. Æt. 30.

- (a) “ Qui Bradamante, poi che la favella
 Le fu concessa usar, la bocca schiuse
 E domandò, Chi son li due sì tristi
 Che tra Ippolito e Alfonso, abbiano visti?
 Veniano sospirando, e gli occhi bassi
 Parean tener, d’ ogni baldanza privi;
 E gir lontan da loro io vedea i passi
 De i frati sì, che ne parcano schivi.
 — Parve che a tal domanda si cangiassi
 La maga in viso, e fe pe’ gli occhi rivi;
 E gridò, Ah sfortunati, a quanta pena
 Lungo instigar d’ huomini rei vi mena.
 O buona prole, o degna d’ Ercol buono,
 Non vinca il lor fallir vostra bontade.
 Di vostro sangue i miseri pur sono;
 Qui ceda la giustitia a la pietade.

— Indi

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VII.A. D. 1505.
A. Æt. 30.Final ex-
pulsion of
the French
from Na-
ples.

After a series of calamities of more than ten years continuance, during which there was scarcely any part of Italy that had not severely suffered from the effects of pestilence, of famine, and of war, some indications appeared of happier times. The pretensions of Louis XII. to the kingdom of Naples had received an effectual check by the defeat of his troops on the Garigliano, and although the remains of his army had effected a retreat to Gaeta, yet all that now remained for them, was to obtain a capitulation on such terms as should secure to them their liberty and their arms. These terms were readily conceded by Gonsalvo, who permitted his humiliated adversaries to march out from Gaeta with military honours, and to carry off their effects, on condition that they should return to France, either by land or sea, of which he offered them the choice and furnished them with the opportunity. Both these courses were adopted, and in both the French soldiery were equally unfortunate. Those who embarked at Gaeta and Naples perished for the most part by hurricanes, either in the passage or on their native coasts; whilst those who attempted to return by land fell a sacrifice to sickness, cold, hunger, and fatigue, inso-much that the roads were strewed with their dead bodies. This capitulation was speedily followed by a treaty between the contending monarchs, by which it was agreed that Ferdinand, who had sur-

— Indi soggiunse con più basso suono,
Di ciò dirti più inanzi non accade.
Statti col dolce in bocca, e non ti doglia,
Ch' amareggiar' al fin non te la voglia."

Orl. Fur. cant. iii. st. 60, &c.

vived his queen Isabella, and who on account of his dissensions with his son-in-law the arch-duke Philip, was earnestly desirous of male offspring, should marry the young and beautiful Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII. who should bring with her as her dower all such parts of the kingdom of Naples as had been allotted to the French monarch ; and in return for these favours, Ferdinand engaged to pay to Louis XII. one million of gold ducats, by annual payments of one hundred thousand ducats, as an indemnity for his expenses in the Neapolitan war. (a) With these favourable indications of returning tranquillity other circumstances concurred. The power of the Borgia family had been suddenly annihilated by the death of Alexander VI. and by the consequent imprisonment and exile of Cæsar Borgia ; whilst the death of Piero de' Medici seemed to promise repose to the agitated republic of Florence. Many of the principal Italian leaders, or *Condottieri*, had perished in these contests, others had been stripped of their possessions and so far reduced as to be no longer able to follow the trade of blood ; whilst the people, wearied and exhausted by a continual change of masters, by unavailing carnage, by incessant alarms, exorbitant exactions, and by all the consequences of prolonged hostilities, sighed for that peace which they ought to have commanded,

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VII.

A. D. 1505.
A. Æt. 30.

(a) This treaty, by which these ambitious rivals agreed to become “ *tanquam duæ animæ in uno et eodem corpore, amici amicorum, et inimici inimicorum,*” was concluded at Blois on the twelfth day of October, 1505, and ratified by the king of Spain at Segovia, the sixteenth of the same month. It is preserved in the Collection of Du Mont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 72.

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VII.

and which alone could remedy those evils of which they had so long been the victims.

A.D. 1505.
A. Æt. 30.
Julius II.
seizes on the
cities of Pe-
rugia and
Bologna.

1506.

But whilst every thing seemed to conspire in securing the public tranquillity, the happy effects of which had already begun to be experienced, the supreme pontiff was revolving in his mind how he might possess himself of the smaller independent states in the vicinity of the Roman territories, and complete the great work which Alexander VI. had so vigorously begun. He had already announced in the consistory, his determination to free the domains of the church from tyrants; alluding, as it was well understood, to the cities of Perugia and Bologna, the former of which was held by the Baglioni, and the latter by the Bentivogli. Nor was he slow in carrying his threats into execution. Having preconcerted his measures with the king of France, who still retained the government of Milan, he placed himself at the head of his army, and accompanied by twenty-four cardinals, left Rome on the twenty-sixth day of August, taking his course towards Perugia. (a) The well-known character of the pontiff, and the resolution exhibited by him in these measures, gave just alarm to Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who being totally unprepared to resist such an attack, consulted his safety by a timely submission, and proceeding to Orvieto, humiliated himself before the pope, and tendered to him his services. This proceeding in some degree disarmed the resentment of Julius, who received Baglioni into his employ, on condition of his surrendering up the town and citadel of Perugia, and accompanying him with one hun-

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 30.

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VII.A. D. 1506.
A. Æt. 31.

dred and fifty men at arms on his intended expedition into Romagna. (a) On the twelfth day of September, 1506, the pope entered the city of Perugia and assumed the sovereignty, which he soon afterwards delegated to the cardinal de' Medici, who from this time began to act a more conspicuous part in the concerns of Italy than he had hitherto done. From Perugia the pontiff hastened to Imola, whence he summoned Giovanni Bentivolio to surrender to him the city of Bologna, on pain of bringing down on himself all the power of his temporal and spiritual arms. Bentivolio had, however, prepared for his approach, and relying on the promises of support given him by Louis XII. had determined to resist the attack till the arrival of his allies might relieve him from his dangers. A body of eight thousand infantry and six hundred horse had been despatched from Milan to his assistance; but in the present situation of affairs in Italy Louis had no further occasion for the services of Bentivolio, whilst the favour of the pope might still be of important use to him. He therefore directed the troops intended for the assistance of Bentivolio, to join the army of his assailants. The duke of Ferrara and the republic of Florence also sent considerable reinforcements to the pontiff, and Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, was declared with great solemnity captain general of the Roman army. (b) These pre-

(a) *Murat. Annal. d' Ital.* vol. x. p. 31.

(b) The pontifical brief on this occasion, which commemorates the great services of the marquis, is given in the Appendix, No. LVI.

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VII.A. D. 1506.
A. Æt. 31.

parations convinced Bentivolio that all resistance would not only be ineffectual, but ruinous to him. Quitting, therefore, the city by night, he repaired to the French commander Chaumont, and having received a safe conduct for himself and his family, he privately hastened into the Milanese, leaving the citizens of Bologna to effect such terms of reconciliation with the pope as they might think proper. A deputation from the inhabitants speedily arranged the preliminaries for the admission of the pontiff within the walls, and on the eleventh day of November, 1506, he entered as a conqueror, at the head of his army, amidst the rejoicings and congratulations of the people. (a) After establishing many necessary and salutary regulations for the due administration of justice, he entrusted the government of the city to the cardinal Regino. On his return to Rome he passed through the city of Urbino, where he remained for several days, partaking of the splendid amusements which the duke and duchess had prepared for him. (b)

(a) *Muratori, Annal. d' Ital.* vol. x. p. 31. These events are also celebrated by Mantuanus Vincentius, in the fourth book of his Latin poem, entitled *Alba. v. Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital.* vol. xi. p. 338, &c. And yet more particularly by cardinal Adrian, one of the companions of the pontiff on his military expedition, in his *Iter Julii II. Pont. Max.* which will be found in the Appendix, No. LVII.

(b) To this precise period Castiglione has assigned his celebrated dialogue on the character and duties of a courtier, called *Il libro del Cortegiano*—although not written by him till some years afterwards:—"Avendo adunque Papa Giulio II. con la presenza sua, e con l' ajuto de' Francesi, ridotto Bologna alla obbedienza della Sede Apostolica nell' anno 1506, e ritornando verso Roma,

Among all the commanders who had signalized themselves in the recent commotions of Italy, no one had acquired greater honour and more general esteem than the Great Captain Gonsalvo, who after having by his courage and perseverance accomplished the conquest of Naples, had conciliated the exasperated and discordant minds of the people by his clemency, liberality, and strict administration of justice, and had thereby confirmed to his sovereign that authority which he had previously obtained. These important services had been acknowledged by Ferdinand, who besides appointing Gonsalvo his viceroy in the kingdom of Naples, had invested him with domains in that country which produced him annually upwards of twenty thousand gold ducats, and had conferred upon him the high hereditary office of grand constable of the realm. Notwithstanding these external demonstrations of confidence and regard, the jealousy of Ferdinand was excited by the extraordinary greatness of his too powerful subject, which he conceived might inspire him with the hope of obtaining for himself the sovereign authority. No sooner was the mind of the king possessed with this idea than the virtues of Gonsalvo were converted into crimes, and his well judged attempts to allay the jealousies and engage the affections of the people, were considered only as preparatory measures to the asserting his own independence. Under the influence of these suspicions, Ferdinand

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A. D. 1506.
A. Æt. 31.

Ferdinand
of Spain vi-
sits his Nea-
politan do-
minions.

passò per Urbino ; dove, quanto era possibile, onoratamente, e con quel più magnifico e splendido apparato che si avesse potuto fare in qualsivoglia altra nobil Città d'Italia, fu ricevuto," &c. *Castig. Corteg.* lib. i. p. 23.

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VII.A. D. 1506.
A. Æt. 31.

1507.

requested the presence of Gonsalvo in Spain, pretending that he wished to avail himself of his counsels ; but Gonsalvo excused himself, alleging that the newly acquired authority of his sovereign was not yet sufficiently established. The injunctions of the king were repeated, and again proved ineffectual. Alarmed at these indications, Ferdinand resolved to hasten in person to Naples and take the reins of government into his own hands. He accordingly arrived there with his young queen about the end of October, 1506, and was met at Capo Miseno by Gonsalvo, who received him with every demonstration of loyalty and respect. Neither the death of his son-in-law Philip, of which he received intelligence on his journey through the Genoese, nor the remonstrances of his ministers, who entreated him to return to take upon himself the government of the kingdom of Castile, could induce Ferdinand to interrupt his journey or to quit his Neapolitan dominions, until he had effectually secured himself against the possibility of an event, the contemplation of which had occasioned him so much anxiety. After a residence of seven months, in the course of which he established many excellent regulations for the government of his new subjects, and cautiously replaced all the military officers appointed by Gonsalvo, by others on whose fidelity he had greater reliance ; he retired on the fourth day of June, 1507, from Naples, on his way to Savona, accompanied by Gonsalvo, in whose place he had substituted as viceroy of Naples Don John of Aragon. By a previous arrangement with Louis XII. an interview took place at Savona between the two monarchs, and four days were past

in secret and important conferences. The superstition of mankind has sought for the prognostics of future evils in the threatening aspects and conjunctions of the planets; but a conjunction of this kind is a much more certain indication of approaching commotions; nor is it perhaps without reason, that the origin of the celebrated league at Cambray, which involved Italy in new calamities, has been referred to this interview. (a)

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VII.

A. D. 1507.
A. Æt. 32.

On this occasion the two sovereigns contended with each other in their respect and attention to the Great Captain. Louis XII. was unwearied in expressing his admiration of the character and talents of a man who had wrested from him a kingdom, and by his solicitations Gonsalvo was permitted to sit at the same table with the royal guests. As this day, in the estimation of the vulgar, was the highest, so it was considered as the last, of the glory of Gonsalvo. On his arrival in Spain he received a notification from Ferdinand to retire to his country residence, and not to appear at court without leave. From that moment his great talents were condemned to oblivion, and he remained useless and unemployed till the time of his death, in the year 1515; when he received the reward of his services in a pompous funeral furnished at the expense of the king.

Gonsalvo
honoured
and neglect-
ed.

In reviewing the transactions of his past life, Gonsalvo was accustomed to say that he had nothing wherewith to reproach himself, except his breach of faith to Ferdinand, the young duke of Calabria, and the transmitting Cæsar Borgia as a prisoner to Spain, contrary to the assurances of

Gonsalvo
repents of
his errors.

(a) v. Bembo, *Istor. Veneta*. lib. vii.—in *op.* vol. i. pp. 188, 189.

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VII.A. D. 1507.
A. Æt. 32.Vindicated
by Paulus
Jovius.

protection which he had given him. To these acknowledged errors, he is however said to have added, that he had committed another crime, the nature of which he would never explain. (a)

Of these defects in the Great Captain, and particularly of his conduct towards Cæsar Borgia, a vindication has been attempted by Jovius, founded on the atrocious character of Borgia, which, as the apologist contends, justified any measures that might be adopted against him; and on the compliance of Gonsalvo with the commands of his sovereign and with the wishes of the supreme pontiff. (b) It is not however difficult to perceive,

(a) “Didaco Mendocio Antonioque Læva me accepisse profiteor, ut in extremo vitæ actu, tanquam semiexul, non plane felix (Consalvus) moreretur; quanquam sæpissime diceret, se nullius improbe facti pœnitentia offensum, lætissime ex hac vita fuisse migraturum, nisi Ferdinando Federici regis filio, et Cæsari Borgiae Valentino, fidem suam improvide dedisset, ut ea demum a rege cum sui nominis sugillatione violaretur. Subjungebat ad hæc duo Consalvus, se tertii quoque gravioris facti maxime pœnitere, quod tamen prodere nollit.” *Jov. in vita Consalvi*. lib. iii. p. 275. A similar expression is recorded by Suetonius, of Titus, who, when dying, did not admit more than one act of his life, as a subject of serious repentance. “Eripi sibi vitam immerenti: neque enim extare ullum suum factum pœnitendum, excepto duntaxat uno.” *In vit. cap. x.*

(b) “Sed quis Consalvum ut id faceret, regis imperio coactum, non excuset,” &c.—“Verum ob id quoque honestiore de causa, majoreque ratione, a fide data discessisse videri potuit; ne Italiam, dudum sublatis bellis, tranquilla pace fruituram, unius nefarii impotentisque tyranni immanis audacia perturbaret.” *Jov. ut sup.* p. 275. How far the peace of Italy was preserved by the conduct of Gonsalvo to Borgia, will sufficiently appear in the sequel; and this apology for Gonsalvo would have been equally applicable, if he had extended his treachery to the two sovereigns, with whom he sat at table, and who were meditating greater calamities to Italy than Borgia could ever have produced. On this subject, I

that Gonsalvo in his treachery to Borgia gave a sanction to those very crimes which he affected to punish. However desirable the destruction of such a man may be, it is still more desirable that those principles of good faith by which human society is bound together, should be kept sacred and inviolate. The other plea urged by Jovius is equally unsatisfactory. Gonsalvo had acted under the authority of his sovereign when he granted a safe conduct, and neither he nor his king could rightfully revoke an act which had induced another to confide his safety in their hands. It is indeed extremely singular, that the bishop of Noceræ should attempt to justify the Spanish general in a transaction in which he could not justify himself. Thus the historian sinks below the soldier, who redeemed his crime by his contrition, and afforded a presumption that under similar circumstances he would not have again repeated it; but the vindication of Jovius is intended to recommend to future imitation that guilt of which Gonsalvo repented, and to set up motives of temporary expediency against the eternal laws of morality and of truth.

With respect to the third accusation of Gonsalvo against himself, the *tertium gravius factum*, it has been referred to the error which he is supposed to have committed, in suffering himself, when he had the whole military force at his command, to be divested of his authority in Naples,

hesitate not to dissent even from the opinion of the liberal De Thou, who informs us that Borgia, “qui nemini fidem servaverat temere se fidei Consalvi permisit; a quo in Hispaniam missus, et laudabili perfidia in carcerem coniectus est.” *Hist. lib. i. p. 15.*

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VII.A. D. 1507.
A. Æt. 32.

and reduced to a state of humiliation and solitude during the remainder of his life. (a) But the friends of Gonsalvo who thus construed his meaning were probably mistaken. When a person contemplates the awful period to which he was fast approaching, he seldom repents that he has not sacrificed his virtue to his interest, and his conscience to his ambition; and Gonsalvo's third cause of regret would, in this case, have implied a contradiction to his two former. He could probably have unfolded a tale—but he died a penitent, and trusted it with his other sins to the bosom of his God.

(a) “ Id autem Leva et Mendocius, non inani forte conjectura, interpretantes esse putabant, quod regiis pollicitationibus, e Neapoli Italiaque se abduci in Hispaniam permisisset; in qua multi, rerum novarum cupidi, cum in spem novi principatus maximarumque rerum bello gerendarum retinere conarentur.” *Jovius, in vita Consalvi*, lib. iii. p. 275.

CHAP. VIII.

1507—1512.

CAUSES of the jealousy of the European powers against the republic of Venice—Recent improvements in military discipline—The Venetians repel the attack of the emperor elect Maximilian—Reasons alleged by Louis XII. for his hostility against them—League of Cambray—Pretexts resorted to by the allies—The Venetians prepare for their defence—Opinions of their commanders—Hostilities commenced—Louis XII. defeats the Venetians at Ghiaradadda—Dismemberment of the Venetian territories—Exertions of the Senate—Recovery of Padua and capture of the marquis of Mantua—Ineffectual attack on Padua by the emperor elect Maximilian—The Venetian flotilla defeated on the Po by the duke of Ferrara—Pisa surrenders to the Florentines—Julius II. deserts his allies and unites his arms with the Venetians—Excommunicates the duke of Ferrara—Is besieged by the French in Bologna—Louis XII. opposes the authority of the pope—Mirandula captured by Julius II. in person—Bologna captured by the French—The cardinal of Pavia assassinated by the duke of Urbino—Council of Pisa—The holy league—Julius II. determines to restore the Medici—Bologna besieged by the allies, and relieved by de Foix—Discordant opinions of the cardinal Legate de' Medici and the Spanish general Cardona—Brescia taken and sacked by the French—De Foix attacks Ravenna—Battle before the walls—The allies defeated by de Foix, and the cardinal Legate de' Medici made prisoner—Death of de Foix—The cardinal despatches Giulio de' Medici with intelligence to Rome—Fatal effects of the battle of Ravenna to the French—The cardinal de' Medici conveyed to Bologna—Is brought prisoner to Milan on his way to France.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE republic of Venice had hitherto been in a great measure exempt from those evils which had overturned, or endangered, the other states of Italy: but the storm that had so long poured down its wrath on the northern and southern provinces now began to gather in the east, with a still more threatening aspect. From the advantages of her local situation, and the prudence of her councils, Venice had been enabled, in the course of the wars in which Italy had been engaged, not only to increase her trade and improve her naval strength, but also to extend her continental possessions and to annex to her dominions most of the maritime cities on the Adriatic coast; nor is there any period of her history in which she rose to an equal degree of strength and importance. In the part which she had taken in the commotions of Italy she had generally acted on the offensive. She had supported her armies at the expense of others, or had obtained a compensation for their labours in her conquests. (a) She

A. D. 1507.
A. Æt. 32.

Causes of
the jealousy
of the Euro-
pean powers
against the
republic of
Venice.

(a) To the overbearing ambition of the Venetians, at this period, Machiavelli alludes, in his *Asino d' Oro*, cap. v.

“ San Marco, impetuoso ed importuno,
Credendosi haver sempre il vento in poppa,
Non si curò di rovinare ognuno;
Nè vidde come la potenza troppa
Era nociva; e come il me' sarebbe
Tener sott' acqua la coda e la groppa.”

CHAP.
VIII.

A. D. 1507.
A. A. 32.

was now at peace with all the European powers on both sides the Alps, nor was it easy to perceive from what quarter any serious cause of alarm could arise; but in the midst of this prosperity the mine was preparing which was intended to involve her in destruction; nor was it long before she experienced its effects, in an explosion which had nearly occasioned her total and irreparable ruin. The motives and effects of her conduct had indeed been too obvious not to excite the jealousy of all the surrounding states. To the emperor elect Maximilian, her increasing power rendered her a dangerous rival; and Louis XII. seemed to be indebted for his Milanese dominions rather to her forbearance, than to her inability to deprive him of them. The possession of the cities of Trani, Brindisi, Gallipoli, and Otranto, which had been ceded to her by Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, and which she retained after the conquest of the rest of the kingdom by Ferdinand of Spain, caused that monarch to regard her as a future enemy, from whom he must at some time wrest those important places. Nor was the part which she had lately acted in Romagna likely to conciliate the favour of Julius II. who had been compelled to enter into a treaty which guaranteed to her the cities of Faenza and Rimini, and who therefore only waited for a favourable opportunity to attempt the recovery of those places. (a) But although the republic had excited the envy or resentment of almost all the powers of Europe, yet to reconcile all their discordant interests, and to unite them in one great object, might have been

(a) *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, liv. i. vol. i. p. 39.

found a difficult and perhaps an impracticable task, if some peculiar and predisposing circumstances had not prepared the way to such a communication of their mutual dissatisfaction, as speedily terminated in the adoption of open hostilities against her.

CHAP.
VIII.

A. D. 1507.
A. Æt. 32.

Since the time of the arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy, a considerable alteration had taken place in the mode of warfare, and the military preparations of the sovereigns of Europe. Before that important event, a regular standing army of infantry set apart from the community for the purposes of war, was unknown. Sudden levies were raised as occasion required, and when the contest was over they again returned to the general mass of the inhabitants. The strength of an army consisted almost entirely in the number of its armed cavalry, who were denominated *gensdarmes*, *lances*, or *men at arms*, and when united together were emphatically called the *battle*. Into these ranks none were admitted, for a long time, but gentlemen by birth. Every man at arms brought with him into the field a certain number of horses and attendants, which varied in different countries and at different times. The full appointment of a man at arms in France was six horses and four men on foot, two of whom were archers; but in Italy the number of horses seldom exceeded three. (a) When in actual engagement, the archers generally composed the second and third ranks, in which station they were

Recent improvements
in military
discipline.

(a) “ Gli oltramontani ancora intender dei,
Ch' han varie lanze, a quel che saper posso,
Noi tre cavalli, e lor ne metton sei.”

Cornazzano, *de re Militari*, lib. iii. cap. 3.

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VIII.A. D. 1507.
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also at hand to render any services to the men at arms, who from the weight and nature of their armour and offensive weapons, stood in frequent need of assistance. In the contests of Charles VIII. in Italy, and particularly at the battle of the Taro, the use of the foot soldiery, or *fanti*, began to be better known and more highly appreciated; but the first nation which gave respectability and importance to this mode of warfare, was the Swiss, who raised the discipline of infantry to a degree of perfection which has seldom been since equalled, and perhaps never excelled. In the assembling of the numerous bodies of troops, which in the beginning of the sixteenth century were poured forth from the Helvetic states, and who sold their assistance to the highest bidder, the services of the individual seem to have been voluntary, and his motive and his reward were generally his share of the subsidy, or his chance of the spoil. When in action, the Swiss were remarkable for their discipline and firmness, but above all for their fidelity and unshaken attachment to each other. Their armour consisted of a casque and breast-plate, or, when these could not be procured, of the skin of a buffalo or other beast; their usual weapons were a halbert, which when not employed was slung at their back, a sword, and a pike of eighteen feet in length. When united together they formed a kind of moveable fortification called the *herisson*, against which the utmost efforts of the cavalry were of no avail. They were in an army what the bones are in the human body, but when once thrown into disorder they were not easily prevailed on to renew the conflict. Before the end of the fifteenth

century, the French Sovereigns had frequently experienced the value of their assistance and the ill-effects of their resentment ; and they may be considered as having set the example of a regular system of infantry to the other nations of Europe. One of the earliest establishments of this nature in France consisted of a body of six thousand men, subsidized from the duke of Gueldres by Louis XII. who were denominated the *bandes noires*, or black bands, because they fought under a black standard ; by which name they acquired great reputation in the wars of Italy. (a) The Spanish infantry, which had been chiefly formed in the wars of Naples by the great captain Gonsalvo, were remarkable beyond all others for their courage, sobriety, and discipline. Besides the pike, the battle-axe, and the poniard, they were generally armed with a heavy harquebus. In an attack, when their numbers bore a reasonable proportion to the enemy, they were considered as irresistible ; and even when defeated, they seldom took to flight without rallying and returning with fresh ardour to the charge. Besides the *gensdarmes*, bodies of light-armed cavalry began about this time to be frequently employed ; and large troops of horse were also obtained from the continental territories of the state of Venice, and the adjacent provinces of Greece, who fought in the irregular manner of the Turks, and under the name of *stradiotti*, or hus-sars, were the usual harbingers of an attack, and the terror of a defeated enemy.

Towards the close of the year 1507, the emperor elect Maximilian, having some important designs

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.. (a) *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*. liv. iii. vol. ii. p. 13.

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The Venetians repel the attack of the emperor elect Maximilian.

upon Italy, the object of which he did not choose to define, but which he disguised under the pretence that he meant to proceed to Rome, to receive from the hands of the pope the imperial crown, requested permission from the Venetians to pass with his army through their states. The senate were at this time in strict alliance with Louis XII. and being apprehensive that Maximilian meant to attack the Milanese, and unwilling to afford any pretext for a rupture with the French monarch, refused to comply with his request; at the same time assuring him of an honourable and respectful reception and a safe-conduct for himself and his retinue, in case he wished to pass in a pacific manner through their dominions. On this refusal, Maximilian resolved to effect a passage by force, and descending through the Tyrol, entered the Venetian states in the beginning of the year 1508, and captured several important places in the district of Friuli. (a) He was, however, soon opposed by Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who had lately entered into the service of the Venetians, and who having by rapid marches unexpectedly attacked the imperialists under the command of the duke of Brunswick at Codauro, defeated them with such slaughter that scarcely one of them survived to carry to Maximilian the intelligence of his disaster. (b) The

(a) A very particular account of these transactions is given by Machiavelli, then the Florentine envoy at Venice, in a report addressed to the magistrates of Florence, which contains many interesting particulars of the state of Germany, and the character of Maximilian. *v. Bandini, coll. vet. monument. p. 37. Arezzo, 1752.*

(b) This victory, the most complete that ever d'Alviano obtained, and which was considered as the salvation of the state of Venice, is particularly noticed by Navagero, in his funeral elogy on

Venetians, having thus speedily recovered their possessions, attacked in return the territories of their adversary, and would have possessed themselves of the city of Trent, and the whole district of the Tyrol, had not the inhabitants, although deserted by the imperialists, courageously defended their country. Humiliated by these events, Maximilian listened with eagerness to terms of accommodation; and a treaty of peace for three years, was, on the sixth day of June 1508, concluded between him and the senate, which seemed once more to have restored the public tranquillity.

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This hasty reconciliation gave, however, great dissatisfaction to Louis XII. who being at enmity with Maximilian, and having despatched a body of troops under the command of Trivulzio to the assistance of the Venetians, although with directions, as it was supposed, rather to regard the motions of the adverse armies than to take an active part on the behalf of either, (*a*) affected to be highly offended that the Venetians should have accommodated their differences with Maximilian, without previously consulting him on the terms proposed. It is true, the senate had in the treaty reserved a power for the king of France to accede to it if he should think proper, of which power he afterwards availed himself; but he was no party to the preamble, and was introduced only as their auxiliary,

Causes alleged by Louis XII. for his animosity against the Venetians.

that great commander, in which he informs us, that the imperialists “*ne nuncio quidem cladis relicto, cæsi sunt.*” *v. Naugerii op. ed. Tacuini, 1530, p. 3.* It was also celebrated by Giovanni Cotta, who attended d’Alviano on this expedition, in an elegant Latin ode, which may be found in the Appendix, No. LVIII.

(*a*) *Muratori, Annali d’ Italia, vol. x. p. 38.*

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like a potentate of a secondary rank. (a) Affecting great displeasure at this apparent insult, and perhaps alarmed at the increasing power of the Venetians, Louis now determined to accommodate his differences with Maximilian, and to secure or extend his Milanese possessions by the humiliation of these haughty republicans. For the attainment of the first of these objects he had recourse to a stratagem, which sufficiently proves that in political artifice the French were not inferior to the Italians. Whilst he assigned as a cause of his resentment against the Venetians their want of confidence in him, he despatched his envoys to Maximilian to inform him, that the Venetians had disclosed to him the most secret particulars of the negotiation; thereby endeavouring to convince Maximilian that they had betrayed his interests, and to excite his anger against his new allies who had treated him with so much duplicity and disrespect. (b) By such representations the fluctuating mind of Maximilian again changed its purpose, and his resentment against the senate was confirmed, on finding that his name and achievements had been made the subject of caricature exhibitions, and satirical ballads, which were sung through the streets of Venice. The animosity that had so long subsisted between these rival monarchs was by these means suddenly extinguished. The representations made by Louis XII. to Julius II. and to Ferdinand of Aragon, were equally successful, and the attack and dismemberment of the states of Venice were determined on with a ce-

(a) *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, liv. i. vol. i. p. 64.

(b) *Bembo, Istoria Venet.* lib. viii. in op. vol. i. p. 188.

lerity and unanimity which seemed to insure success to the attempt.

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In the month of October, 1508, the plenipotentiaries of the confederate powers met in the city of Cambray. The representative of Maximilian was his daughter, Margaretta, the same princess who had been repudiated by Charles VIII. and who having survived her second husband, Philibert, duke of Savoy, had undertaken, during the minority of the archduke Charles, the government of the Netherlands, which she conducted with great credit and ability. George of Amboise, cardinal of Rouen, appeared in the two-fold capacity of ambassador of Louis XII. and legate of the pope, and Jacopo de Albion as the envoy of the king of Spain. On the tenth day of December a treaty was concluded for the attack and dismemberment of the territories of Venice. (a) By the terms of this treaty Maximilian was to possess the cities and districts of Rovereta, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Trevigi, and Friuli, with the patriarchate of Aquileja, and all places of which he had been divested by the Venetians in the course of the late war. The king of France stipulated for the cities of Brescia, Crema, Bergamo, and Cremona, and the whole district of Ghiaradadda, as part of the ancient possessions of the dukes of Milan. Ferdinand of Spain was to be remunerated for his share in the war by the restitution of the maritime cities of Naples; and the pope was to recover the territories in Romagna, which on the expulsion of Cæsar Borgia had been occupied

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League of
Cambray.

(a) This treaty is given by Lunig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom.* tom. i. p. 134, and in the collection of Dumont, tom. iv. par. i. p. 114.

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by the Venetians, and which included the cities of Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, and Rimini. To these were also added in the treaty the cities of Imola and Cesena, which were not then under the Venetian government, and which it has been supposed were inserted through the ignorance of the cardinal of Rouen; (a) but it is much more probable, that these places yet retained their allegiance to Borgia, and required the aid of the confederates to reduce them to the obedience of the church. A power was reserved for the duke of Savoy, as king of Cyprus, the duke of Ferrara, and marquis of Mantua, to become parties in the league, to which they afterwards acceded; and that nothing might be wanting to overwhelm or terrify the devoted republic of Venice, the kings of England and of Hungary were also invited to take a share in the attack.

Pretexts resorted to by the allies.

As Maximilian had so lately entered into a treaty of amity with the Venetians, which he had solemnly sworn to maintain, and as no offence had since been given by them which could be construed into a justification of hostilities on his part, it became necessary to resort to some measure which might afford, in the eyes of the world, a sufficient reason for the part which he intended to act. For the accomplishment of this object, and to satisfy the honour and conscience of Maximilian, it was therefore expressly agreed that Julius II. who it seems stood in no need of any pretext for infringing the treaty which he had himself entered into, should call upon the emperor

(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 39. *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, liv. i. tom. i. p. 50.

elect, as defender of the rights of the church, to assist in asserting its claims; and that Maximilian should within forty days after the first of April, 1509, the day particularly agreed on for the commencement of hostilities, enter the Venetian territories at the head of his army, without further regard either to his alliances or his oath. The nature and object of this treaty were however cautiously concealed from the Venetians, under the pretext that it related to an accommodation between the archduke Charles and the duke of Gueldres; and in order to give a greater degree of probability to this assertion, another treaty was actually concluded between those parties, which bears the same date as that which it was intended to conceal. (a)

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The rumours of the measures adopted at Cambray, and the preparations making by the chief powers of Europe for some great undertaking, from which the Venetians were cautiously excluded, at length excited their suspicions, and they directed Condemaro their ambassador at the court of France, to obtain such explanations from the cardinal of Rouen as might allay their apprehensions, or justify their conduct in preparing for their defence. The cardinal attempted for a time to impose on the Venetian envoy by equivocal assurances and crafty representations; but finding

(a) This treaty is also published in the collection of Du Mont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 109.

Notwithstanding the apparent treachery and rapacity of the parties to this league, Jean Marot, valet de chambre to Louis XII. represents it as entered into at the request of the goddess of peace, against those disturbers of christendom, the Venetians. *Œuvres de Jean Marot*, vol. iv. p. 63, 4to ed.

CHAP. VIII. these would not avail, he had recourse to direct falsehood, and assured the envoy, on the faith of a cardinal and a prime minister, that the king would still adhere to the treaty of Blois, and that nothing had occurred at Cambray which could be injurious to the Venetian republic. (a) These assurances were, if we may give credit to Bembo, confirmed by the king himself; who pledged his faith to Condelmario to the same effect; and added, that he considered himself as the friend of the senate, and consequently would not have consented to any measures which might prove prejudicial to its interests. (b)

The Venetians prepare for their defence.

No sòoner, however, were the Venetians aware of the magnitude of the danger with which they were threatened, than they began to prepare for a vigorous defence. Nor did they neglect such measures as they thought most likely to avert the anger or to soften the resentment of their enemies. They proposed to Julius II. to surrender up to him the places which they had occupied in Romagna; and they employed their utmost efforts to detach the emperor elect and the king of Spain from their alliance with the king of France. Repulsed in these attempts, they resorted for assistance to the other powers of Europe, and endeavoured to prevail on the king of England to

(a) *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, liv. i. vol. i. p. 70.

(b) *Bembo. Istor. Venet.* lib. vii. in op. vol. i. p. 189. The French historians affect to justify this fraud, by considering it as a retribution for the deception practised by the senate on the French ambassador Communes, when they formed the league for intercepting Charles VIII. on his return from Italy, and which he has so fully related in his *Memoirs*. v. *Ligue de Cambray*, liv. i. vol. i. p. 71.

attack the dominions of France, whilst Louis XII. and his gendarmes were beyond the Alps : (a) nor did they hesitate in this dangerous emergency to call upon the Turkish emperor Bajazet for his assistance against the confederates, who by the very terms of their alliance, had avowed their hostility against him. Towards whatever quarter they turned for aid they met only with disappointment or neglect ; and the republic was left without a single ally, to oppose itself to a combination more powerful than any that Europe had known since the time of the crusades. Their spirit was however unbroken, and their resources such as might be expected from a rich and powerful people. Their generals were soon enabled to take the field at the head of forty thousand men, under the various descriptions of infantry, men at arms, light horse, and *stradiotti*, or hussars, composed chiefly of Greeks. A powerful naval armament was at the same time directed to co-operate with the army whenever it might be practicable ; but at the very moment when every effort was making to increase the maritime strength of the country, the arsenal, at that time the admiration of Europe, was treacherously set on fire, by which a considerable quantity of ammunition and naval stores, and twelve of their galleys of war were destroyed. A few days afterwards information was received that the castle of Brescia was blown up ; and about the same time the building fell, in which

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(a) The Venetian envoy on this occasion was Andrea Badoardo, who had resided many years in England, and was well acquainted with the language. *Bembo. Istor. Venet. lib. vii. in op. vol. i. p. 191.*

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Opinions of
the Venetian
commanders.

were kept the archives of the republic; incidents which, from the critical period at which they occurred, gave reason to the superstitious to believe that the destruction of the republic was near at hand. (a)

The chief military commanders in the service of the senate at this period were Nicolò Orsino, count of Pitigliano, and Bartolommeo d'Alviano, both of them men of great courage and experience, but of very different characters; d'Alviano being daring and impetuous almost to rashness, whilst the count was cool, deliberate, and cautious, to an opposite extreme. The object of the one was to terminate the war by a single effort; that of the other to defeat the enemy by involving him in difficulties, so as to prevent even the necessity of an engagement. One of the first measures of the senate was to call these commanders to Venice, and to request their deliberate sentiments on the best methods to be adopted for the defence of the state. These opinions were conformable to the different tempers and views of those who delivered them. The count of Pitigliano advised the senate to fortify their continental cities, and to act upon the defensive, until events should occur which might weaken or destroy a league that had within itself the principles of dissolution. D'Alviano, on the contrary, contended that it was more expedient to take the field before their enemies were prepared for the attack; and rather to carry the war into the states of Milan, than to wait the

(a) These events are adverted to in the Latin verses of Valeriano, addressed to his preceptor, Sabellicus, the Venetian historian. *v. Appendix, No. LIX.*

approach of the French king within the Venetian territories. Without wholly adopting either of these opinions, the senate steered a middle course; and whilst they prepared for the defence of their strong cities, they directed that their generals should not proceed beyond the Adda. (a)

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Scarcely had the Venetian army taken the field, when the tempest burst upon that devoted state from all quarters. Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew to the pope, and who was now become duke of Urbino, proceeded through the territories of Faenza and stormed the town of Brisighella, where he put to death upwards of two thousand persons, and by his unsparing cruelty led the way to still greater enormities. The marquis of Mantua attacked the district of Verona, but was vigorously opposed by d'Alviano. Amidst the storm of war, Julius II. rolled forth the thunders of the Vatican, and placed the state of Venice under the interdict of the church. (b) The French army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, of whom six thousand were Swiss mercenaries, and of five thousand horse, with Louis XII. at their head, passed the Adda at Cassano, and captured the towns of Trevigli, Rivolto, and other places, which they sacked; but on the approach of the count of Pitigliano they retreated across the river, having first garrisoned the fortress of Trevigli. The count, having bombarded the fortress with heavy artillery, compelled the garrison after an obstinate defence to surrender; but no sooner

Hostilities
commenced.

(a) *Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib. viii. vol. i. p. 416. Muratori, Annali, vol. x. p. 42.*

(b) *Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib. viii. p. 418.*

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were the Venetian soldiery in possession of the town, than they followed the example of their enemies, in slaughtering and despoiling the unfortunate inhabitants. Such was the licentiousness of the troops, that the discipline of the army was greatly relaxed; and before they could be compelled to return to their duty it was found necessary to complete the ruin of the inhabitants, by setting fire to the town. This disgraceful incident afforded the king an opportunity of again passing the Adda, of which he did not fail to avail himself.

Louis XII.
defeats the
Venetians
at Ghiara-
dadda.

In the beginning of the month of May, 1509, the two armies were opposed to each other in the district of Ghiaradadda, (*a*) where the king made several efforts to compel the Venetian commanders to a decisive engagement. For some time the advice of the count of Pitigliano, to avoid so hazardous a measure, prevailed; but the impetuosity of d'Alviano seconded the views of the king, and after some partial movements it became no longer possible to avoid an engagement. The vanguard of the French army was led by the marshal Trivulzio; the centre, by the king in person, accompanied by Charles of Amboise, sieur de Chaumont and governor of Milan; (*b*) and the rear by the sieur de la Palisse. Of the Venetian

(*a*) *Ghiara*, a gravelly beach, or bed of a river; hence *Ghiara d'Adda*, or the beach of the river Adda, from which the whole district is denominated.

(*b*) He is called by Guicciardini *Ciamonte*, and by other Italian historians *Sciomonte*, by which latter name he is mentioned in the former editions of this work. The Cav. Rosmini has, on some occasions denominated him *Sciamonte*, and at others *Chaumont*. *v. Istor. di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio*, vol. i. pp. 394, 404. *

army, d'Alviano led the attack; the count of Pitigliano with the battle, or cavalry, occupied the centre; and the rear-guard was commanded by Antonio de' Pii, accompanied by the Venetian commissaries. The action, which took place on the fourteenth day of May, at a place called Agnadello, continued only three hours; but in that time upwards of ten thousand men lay dead on the field; of whom the greater part were Italians. D'Alviano, after displaying many instances of undoubted courage, was wounded and taken prisoner, and the French remained complete masters of the day, with the artillery, standards, and ammunition of the vanquished. (a) The count of Pitigliano with a small body of cavalry escaped to Caravaggio. Some authors have asserted, that the defeat of the Venetians is chiefly to be attributed to the misconduct of the count, who disgracefully fled in the midst of the battle; (b) but the senate were too severe judges to allow such an instance of treachery, or of cowardice, to pass without a bitter retribution; instead of which we find the count soon afterwards confidentially employed in their service. The result of the battle, if not to be attributed to the superior courage and impetuosity of the assailants, among whom the cele-

(a) This victory of the French monarch is celebrated by Antonius Sylviolus in a Latin poem entitled, *DE TRIUMPHALI ATQUE INSIGNI CHRISTIANISSIMI INVICTISSIMIQUE FRANCORUM REGIS LODOVICI XII. IN VENETOS VICTORIA*, addressed to George of Amboise, cardinal of Rouen, and printed without note of year or place. This production affords much particular information respecting the circumstances and consequences of this important contest, and is not devoid of poetical merit.

(b) *Ap. Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 44.

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brated Gaston de Foix, then very young, was greatly distinguished, may be accounted for from the whole of the French army having been brought into action, whilst the Italians engaged only in detached bodies; in consequence of which their vanguard was defeated with an immense loss, before their cavalry, in which consisted the strength of their army, could take a part in the contest.

Before Louis XII. proceeded to reap the fruits of his victory, he determined to give a signal proof of his piety and his gratitude, by erecting a church on the field of battle. An edifice was accordingly raised on the very spot which yet streamed with the blood of those who had died in defence of their country, and was designated by the name of *S. Maria della Vittoria*, although it might with much more propriety have been dedicated to the deities of treachery, of rapine, and of slaughter. This structure has been considered by the French as an omen of success in subsequent times: the duke of Vendosme having, in the beginning of the last century, defeated the imperial army within sight of its walls. (a)

Dismem-
berment of
the Vene-
tian territo-
ries.

The intelligence of this decisive engagement and the terror of the French arms, facilitated their progress through the Venetian dominions. The districts of Ghiaradadda and Caravaggio, the cities of Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, in-

(a) *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, liv. i. tom. i. p. 122. The ruins of this edifice, or chapel, yet remain at the distance of a mile and a half from Agnadello, and a mile from Tarlino, a village in the territory of Crema; and the place is called i Morti della Vittoria. *Rosmini, Istor. di Giun-Giacopo Trivulzio*, vol. i. p. 396.*

stantly surrendered to the conqueror. The fortress of Peschiera, defended only by five hundred men, for some time resisted his efforts; but overpowered by the French artillery. the besieged at length desired to capitulate, and made frequent signals that they were ready to surrender. Their submission was ineffectual. The assailants entering the citadel by storm put all persons within it to the sword, and seizing upon the Venetian commissary, Andrea Riva and his son, hanged them from the walls of the castle. (a) Notwithstanding the partiality of the French historians to the conduct and character of Louis XII. it is acknowledged that on this occasion he appeared to have forgotten his maxims of clemency; (b) and it would have been well for the reputation of that monarch if the observation could have been confined only to this event. (c) Misfortunes so unexpected and atrocities so unparalleled struck the senate with terror; and despairing of any further defence of

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(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 45.

(b) " Il ne se piqua pas de faire usage envers cette garnison de ses maximes sur la clémence. Elle fut passée au fil de l'épée." *Ligue de Cambr.* lib. i. vol. i. p. 25. Even Jean Marot says,

" Que c'étoit grant horreur veoir tuer e pourfendre
Povres Venetiens, sans nul à mercy prendre."

(c) Marot relates, that on this occasion, a wounded Venetian, in the agonies of death, threw five or six gold ducats from his mouth, in consequence of which the French soldiery conceived that the Venetians had swallowed their riches, and cut up four hundred persons

" ———pour chercher leurs ducats;
O la grande pitié! car quatres cens e plus
Furent là depeschez, et de la vie forcluz."

Œuvres, tom. iv. p. 164.*

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their continental possessions, they only sought how they might most effectually mitigate the resentment, or gratify the ambition of their numerous adversaries. They therefore signified to Julius II. their readiness to surrender to him the whole of their possessions in Romagna; they proposed to relinquish unconditionally to Ferdinand of Spain the cities which they held on the Neapolitan coast; and they despatched an ambassador to the emperor elect Maximilian, informing him that they had already given directions to their governors at Verona and Vicenza to deliver those places up to him, as soon as he should make his appearance. (a) Maximilian, however, displayed no great ardor in availing himself of the advantages prepared for him by his allies; but in due time the imperial army arrived and triumphantly took possession of those cities, as well as of Padua, without being under the necessity of making an hostile effort. (b) Whilst the chief parties to the league were thus appropriating to themselves their share of the spoil, the inferior allies were not idle. Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, now dignified with the title of *gonfaloniere* of the church, possessed himself of the Polesine, and of the districts of Este, Montagnano, and Monfelice, the ancient heritages

(a) The Venetian envoy on this occasion was Antonio Giustiniano, to whom Guicciardini has attributed a most humiliating oration, the authenticity of which has been greatly doubted. The author of the history of the League of Cambray has entered at large into this subject. *v. Ligue de Cambr. i. 137. also Murat. x. 47.* The oration of Giustiniano is given by Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom. ii. 1999.*

(b) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia, vol. x. p. 46.*

of his family. (a) Other commanders eagerly embraced this opportunity of stripping the Venetians of their possessions. Cristoforo Frangipani seized upon several fortresses in Istria, and the duke of Brunswick rendered himself master of Feltri and Belluno, with several parts of Friuli. Never before had the Venetian lion been so shorn of his honors, never had St. Mark been so inattentive to the interests of his faithful votaries, as on this occasion. (b)

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In the midst of their calamities the Venetians had, however, some peculiar advantages. The situation of their capital, surrounded by the waves of the Adriatic, secured them from the apprehensions of total destruction. Whatever the limbs might suffer, the head was sound and capable of strong exertion. In their numerous and well-appointed fleet they had a bulwark which defied the utmost malice of their enemies. If, under these circumstances, they appeared to have resigned themselves to despair, it was not of long continuance, and the depression served only to give a more elastic impulse to their efforts. Their attempts to mitigate the anger of Julius II. had hitherto been as ineffectual as their submissive representations to Maximilian. A persecution so

Exertions of
the senate.

(a) *Gibbon, Antiq. of the House of Brunswick, in op. post.* vol. ii. p. 685.

(b) About this time, when the humiliation and distresses of Italy were at their height; when the Milanese was occupied by the French, the kingdom of Naples by the Spaniards, and the territories of Venice were divided among its rapacious assailants, Machiavelli wrote his *Capitolo dell' Ambizione*, in which he indignantly condemns the imbecility, and pathetically laments the miseries of his country.

CHAP. VIII. relentless, instead of continuing to excite their terror, began at length to awaken their resentment; and the senate resounded with the most unqualified abuse of the father of the faithful, who was represented as much better qualified for the office of a public executioner, than for that to which he had been promoted. (a) They therefore began to collect together the remains of their unfortunate army; they directed the soldiers who had garrisoned their fortresses in Romagna and the kingdom of Naples, to repair to Venice; and they obtained from Istria, Albania, and Dalmatia, considerable bodies of brave and experienced troops. The count of Pitigliano exerted his utmost efforts in their service; and by his personal credit and authority, and the liberal rewards which he offered, he induced many of the Italian *condottieri* to join his standard with their followers. In a short time the Venetians were enabled to oppose the imperialists in the vicinity of Trevigi, where they defeated a body of troops under the command of Constantine, despot of the Morea, who after having been despoiled of his dominions by the Turks, had engaged in the service of Maximilian.

Recovery of Padua, and capture of the marquis of Mantua.

This success led the way to bolder efforts, and the count of Pitigliano was directed to attempt the recovery of the important city of Padua, which under the impressions of terror had been surrendered to the imperialists. The inhabitants, already disgusted by the licentiousness of the German soldiery, had shewn a manifest disposition to

(a) "Non pontefice, ma *carnefice*; d'ogni crudeltà maestro." *Bemb. Istor. Venet.* lib. viii. in op. vol. i. p. 222.

return to the obedience of their former lords. (a) CHAP. VIII.
 By the united efforts of treachery and of force, the count of Pitigliano succeeded in obtaining possession of the city; the Germans betook themselves to flight, and such of the Paduan nobility as had favoured their cause severely expiated, by imprisonment, by exile, or by death, their versatility or their treachery. This event, which was considered as of infinite importance to the republic, took place on the feast of S. Marina, the seventeenth day of July, 1509, (b) and was speedily followed by another scarcely of inferior importance. Francesco, marquis of Mantua, having withdrawn himself into the island of Scala, with a small party of troops, was unexpectedly attacked by a body of the Venetians, assisted by the neighbouring inhabitants, who under favour of the night dispersed and plundered his soldiers. The marquis amidst the alarm descended from a window, almost naked, and endeavoured to shelter himself in a corn-field; but was betrayed by a peasant to whom he had promised a great reward if he would favour his escape. Being made a prisoner, he was first brought to Lignano, and afterwards sent to Venice, where he was committed to the *Torreselle*, in which he was some months confined. (c) A.D. 1509.
 A. Æt. 34.

(a) *Murat. Annali d' Ital.* vol. x. p. 48.

(b) The author of the History of the League of Cambray has placed it on the eighteenth of June, in which he is contradicted by the evidence of the whole body of the Venetian historians, who could not be mistaken in a day which was long afterwards solemnized in Venice, as the commencement of the rise of the republic.
v. Murat. Annali d' Italia, vol. x. p. 49.

(c) *Nardi, Hist. Fior.* lib. v. p. 125. *Murat. Annali.* vol. x. p.

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VIII.A. D. 1509.
A. Æt. 34.Ineffectual
attempt on
Padua by
the emperor
elect Maxi-
milian.

The return of Louis XII. to France soon after the battle of Ghiaradadda was another circumstance highly favourable to the republic; nor was this advantage greatly counteracted by the efforts of the emperor elect Maximilian, who towards the end of the month of August arrived in Italy, at the head of a considerable body of troops, of various nations, languages, and manners, bringing with him an immense train of artillery, with which he immediately applied himself to the recovery of Padua. (a) He was reinforced by Ippolito, cardinal of Este, who following the example of the pontiff, marched in his ecclesiastical habiliments at the head of his troops. After having for some time desolated the defenceless country, and captured a few places of little importance, Maximilian commenced in the month of September the siege of Padua, with an army and an apparatus that seemed to command success. The Venetians were, however, indefatigable in preparing for its

51. It was probably on this occasion that the poet Tebaldeo wrote his Capitolo in the name of the marquis of Mantua, in which that prince is supposed to lament the severity of his fate, and his unmerited misfortunes. *v. Tebald. op. Capit. p. 13.* This disaster of the marquis is also referred to by Mantuanus Vicentius, in his poem, entitled *Alba*, lib. iv. *v. Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. vol. xi. p. 342.*

(a) The author of the History of the League of Cambray states them at 1,700 men at arms, and 32,000 infantry. *Ligue de Camb. lib. i. tom. i. p. 198.* But Nardi, who has given the numbers of the particular bodies of the different nations composing the army, states the cavalry to have been more, and the infantry less. To these however were added, two hundred pieces of artillery, besides ten pieces of cannon of extraordinary size, with which Maximilian was furnished by the duke of Ferrara. *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. v. p. 126.*

defence. With a magnanimity which has seldom been equalled, the doge Loredano requested that the senate would permit him to send his children to be shut up within the besieged city. His proposal was received with joy. The enthusiasm of the young nobility of Venice was excited to the highest degree, and three hundred of them voluntarily accompanied the sons of the doge to Padua. (a) The contest continued during fifteen days, with the loss on both sides of many thousand lives. On the twenty-seventh day of September Maximilian made his last effort, and attempted to carry the place by storm; and that the courage of his troops might be excited by national emulation, the Germans, the French, and the Spaniards, were directed to assail the place in three different bodies. A vigorous resistance, however, frustrated the efforts of Maximilian, and destroyed his hopes. Looking around him he saw his army thinned by desertion. The sum of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats which he had obtained from the pope was already expended, and there appeared no possibility of a further supply. He therefore abandoned the siege, and withdrew with his army to Vicenza, (b) whence, after dismissing from his service a great part of his followers, whom he was no longer able to pay, he returned to Vienna to add one more to his former triumphs; whilst the Venetians not only retained the city of Padua, but soon afterwards recovered

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(a) *Bembo, Istoria Veneta*, lib. ix. *Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, liv. i. tom. i. p. 196.

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d' Italia*, lib. viii. vol. i. p. 453. *Bembo, Istoria Veneta*, lib. ix.

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from him the principal part of the district of Friuli. (*a*)

A.D. 1509.
A. Æt. 34.

The Venetians defeated by the duke of Ferrara.

Among the confederate powers, no one had excited the resentment of the Venetians in so great a degree as Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, and they no sooner began to recover their strength than they resolved to punish him for the active part which he had taken against them. For this purpose they prepared an armament of eighteen galleys, with a large supply of ammunition, and a considerable body of troops, which proceeding up the Po, devastated the country on each side, and filled the inhabitants of Ferrara with terror. Alfonso, at the head of his troops, and with a powerful reinforcement from the French, hastened to oppose their progress; and a bloody engagement took place at Polesella, in which Lodovico Pico, count

(*a*) The life and achievements of Maximilian have been ostentatiously represented in a series of engravings, designed under his own inspection, by Hans Burgmair, and executed in wood, by the best artists of the time. They are accompanied by descriptions, dictated by Maximilian himself to his secretary Mark Treitzaurwein. The various employments of Maximilian, his marriages, his battles, and his treaties, are exhibited in a greater number of prints than would have sufficed for the labours of Hercules, or the conquests of Alexander the Great; but his hunters, his hawkers, his tournaments, and his buffoons, occupy the principal part of the work. This collection he denominates his triumph. *CE TRIOMPHE A ETE EXECUTE A LA LOUANGE E LA MEMOIRE ETERNELLE DES PLAISIRS NOBLES ET DES VICTOIRES GLORIEUSES DU SERENISSIME ET TRES ILLUSTRE PRINCE ET SEIGNEUR MAXIMILIEN ELU EMPEBEUR ROMAIN ET CHEF DE LA CHRETIENTE, ROI ET HERETIER DE SEPT ROYAUMES CHRETIENS, ARCHIDUC D'AUTRICHE, DUC DE BOURGOGNE ET D'AUTRES GRAND PRINCIPAUTES ET PROVINCES DE L'EUROPE, &c.*—The original blocks, or engravings in wood, have only been of late years discovered, and the work was published in 1796, in large folio.

of Mirandula, perished by a shot, whilst standing at the side of the cardinal of Este. A few days afterwards the Venetians entered the city of Comacchio, which, with a barbarity common to all parties, they delivered up to the fury of the soldiery. A severe retribution, however, awaited them; under covert of the night the cardinal of Este had brought down a large train of heavy artillery to the banks of the river; one part of which he stationed above and the other below the Venetian flotilla. At break of day he opened these batteries upon them with such effect as to overwhelm them in inevitable destruction. Two of the galleys perished in the midst of the stream, a third was destroyed by fire, and whilst the Venetians were attempting to escape with the remainder of their fleet, they were attacked by several barks, strongly manned with soldiers from Ferrara, and were totally routed. The loss of the Venetians on this occasion exceeded three thousand men, and Ippolito led fifteen galleys in triumph to Ferrara. (a)

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The example of the dreadful enormities committed by the conquering party upon every place which resisted their arms, was an awful lesson to the inhabitants of Pisa, who, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Florentines, had hitherto de-

Pisa surrenders to the Florentines.

(a) Ariosto has not forgotten to celebrate this important incident in the life of his patron :

“ Costui con pochi a piedi, e meno in sella,
Veggio uscir mesto e ritornar giocondo ;
Che *quindici galee* mena captive,
Oltra mill' altri legni a le sue rive.”

Orl. Fur. Cant. iii. st. 57.

The same occasion has also afforded a subject for several of the Latin poets of the time.

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fended their city, and refused all terms of reconciliation. A bold, but unsuccessful attempt made by the assailants to turn the course of the Arno served only to give new courage to the besieged; but the Florentines had at length reduced the art of famishing to a system, and deprived the inhabitants of Pisa of all hopes of supply. Expedients horrid to relate were resorted to; but human efforts are bounded by human weakness, and the long sufferings of the people of Pisa now approached their termination. Propositions were at length made by the inhabitants for the surrender of the place, by which they reserved to themselves considerable rights, and claimed great indulgences. To these the Florentines willingly and wisely acceded, and on the eighth day of June, 1509, their commissioners entered the city, and by the generosity of their conduct, their strict observance of the stipulated terms, and their attention to repair the injuries of the war, soon convinced the inhabitants that they had been contending for the space of nearly fifteen years, with unexampled obstinacy and incredible sufferings, against their own real interests. (a)

Hitherto the Venetians had relied only on their own courage and resources, and in spite of all the efforts of the powerful league which had been so unexpectedly formed against them, their affairs continued daily to improve, when the loss of the count of Pitigliano, who had served them many years with great fidelity, deranged their military operations and excited their just regret. His death was attributed to the fatigues which he had

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 54.

suffered in the service of the republic; and so sensible were the senate of his merits, that they erected to his memory a statue of brass with an honourable inscription. (*a*)

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But whilst the Venetians were thus struggling with their misfortunes, a favourable gleam at length appeared, and gave them the promise of fairer times. Julius II. by the recovery of Romagna had accomplished the object which had induced him to become a party in the league of Cambray. If this could have been done without the intervention of his allies, he would gladly have dispensed with their services; but having now reaped the full benefit of their assistance, his next consideration was, how he might best secure the advantages which he had obtained. The rapid successes of the French, compared with the tardy progress and fruitless attempts of Maximilian, seemed likely to give them a preponderating influence in Italy; and the destruction of the Venetian republic would have rendered Louis XII. the sovereign of all the northern part of that country, from the gulf of Genoa to that of Venice. Induced by these considerations, Julius admitted to his presence the Venetian ambassadors, who had before in vain solicited an audience, and having received their submission, he released the republic from his spiritual censures with assurances of his future favour and support. (*b*) As this event could

1510.

Julius II
deserts the
allies and
unites his
arms with
the Vene-
tians.

(*a*) His talents have also been celebrated, and his services recorded, in the Latin verses of Ant. Franc. Rainerius. *v. Appendix*, No. LX.

(*b*) In performing this ceremony, the pope being seated in his

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not long be concealed from the knowledge of the French monarch, Julius lost no time in adopting the most effectual measures to secure himself against his resentment. By the offer of a large sum of money he attempted to detach Maximilian from his alliance with France. (a) He endeavoured to excite against Louis XII. an insurrection in the city of Genoa, where he had considerable influence. By the most earnest representations he tried to prevail upon Henry VIII. of England to make a descent on the French coast. (b) He was more successful with Ferdinand of Spain, who having also now obtained his object, was easily persuaded to join in expelling the French from Italy; but what was of still greater importance, he engaged in his service fifteen thousand Swiss mercenaries, for the purpose of making an irruption into the Milanese dominions of the French king. (c) The unexpected assistance of such an active and determined ally gave fresh courage to the Venetians. They increased the numbers of their army, the general command of which they intrusted to Lu-

pontifical robes on the steps of St. Peter's, strikes with a rod the naked shoulders of the ambassadors, in the same manner as a prelate absolves his penitent monks. It was thus that Sixtus IV. released the city of Florence from his interdict; but on this occasion Julius II. dispensed with this humiliating ceremony, and in lieu of it, ordered the envoys to visit the seven churches. *v. Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. v. p. 127.*

(a) The brief of Julius II. to the cardinal of Gurck on this subject is given by Lünig. *Cod. Ital. Diplom. vol. ii. p. 2002.*

(b) At the same time the pope sent Henry the consecrated rose, dipped in chrism, and perfumed with musk. *Rapin, Hist. of England, book xv. vol. i. p. 708.*

(c) The treaty of Julius II. with the Swiss is also preserved by Lünig. *Cod. Ital. Diplom. vol. ii. p. 2490.*

cio Malvezzo, and that of their infantry to Lorenzo, or Renzo, da Ceri. They engaged a body of five hundred Turkish horse, under the command of Giovanni Epirota, and they set at liberty the marquis of Mantua upon such liberal terms as induced him in future to favour their interests. (a)

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These events may be considered as the entire dissolution of the league of Cambray, and shortly occasioned a new aspect of public affairs. Julius having now secured the aid of the Swiss, and having in his service two powerful armies, one of which was commanded by Marc-Antonio Colonna, (b) a young soldier of high worth and splendid talents, to whom he had given his niece in marriage, the other by his nephew, the duke of Urbino, dismissed from his presence the French ambassadors and those of the duke of Ferrara. He also admonished the duke to desist from further hostilities against the republic of Venice, and in particular to relinquish the siege of Lignano, which he was then carrying on with great activity. (c) As

The pope excommunicates the duke of Ferrara.

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. pp. 57, 60.

(b) Marc-Antonio was the son of Pier-Antonio, and nephew of Prospero Colonna. His early accomplishments are thus adverted to by Tebaldeo :

“Hermes dum loqueris, dum rides, Marce, Cupido es,
Mars es ubi arma capis ; tresque refers superos.”

Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. ix. p. 241.

(c) Julius also complained that the duke had entered into an agreement for supplying Lombardy with salt from his mines at Comacchio, to the exclusion of those of the church at Cervia, and required him to relinquish his contract. He also insisted on the duke liberating his brother, Don Ferdinand of Este, whom he yet detained in prison. *v. ante*, chap. vii. p. 38. These demands were, however, considered at the time, as only prettexts for an attack on the states of Ferrara, which Julius had resolved to unite with those

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the duke did not appear inclined to relax in his efforts, Julius instantly deprived him of his title of *gonfaloniere* of the church, which he conferred with great solemnity on the marquis of Mantua, (a) and soon afterwards excommunicated the duke and all his family, declaring him deprived of his dominions, and pointing him out to the vengeance of all christendom as a rebel to the holy see. At the same time the duke of Urbino entered the territory of Ferrara, where, with the assistance of the Venetians, he captured many important places, and among others the city of Modena; carrying the war almost to the walls of Ferrara itself. (b) The indefatigable activity of Alfonso, with the aid of the French troops from Milan, preserved him, however, from the destruction with which he was threatened, and in the variable events of the year he obtained in his turn considerable advantages over the Venetian and Papal troops.

The pope is
besieged in
Bologna.

For the purpose of conducting the war with greater vigour, Julius II. had proceeded from Rome to Bologna, accompanied by most of the cardinals and attendants of his court. (c) At the

of the church. v. *Lettere di Leonardo du Porto, in Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 7.

(a) The grant of this office is given in the collection of Du Mont, tom. iv. par. i. p. 131.

(b) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. pp. 59, 60.

(c) It was on this occasion that Julius was said to have thrown into the Tyber the keys of S. Peter, as appears from the following epigram. *Pasquill.* vol. i. p. 82.

“Cum contra Gallos bellum Papa Julius esset
Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet;
Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, et urbem
Egressus, sævas edidit ore minas.

Iratusque

same period Chaumont, governor of Milan, instigated by the representations of the Bentivoli, directed his arms against that place; where Julius, indisposed by sickness, and wholly unprepared for defence, had nearly fallen into the hands of his enemies. He had, however, the policy to open a treaty with the French general, whose exorbitant demands afforded him a pretext for delay. The ambassador on whose talents he relied in this emergency, was Giovan-Francesco Pico, count of Mirandula, the nephew of the celebrated Giovanni Pico, and himself one of the most learned men of his age. It soon, however, appeared that the only object of the pontiff was to gain time, till his allies, whom he had informed of the dangers of his situation, could arrive to his relief. A large body of Spanish and Venetian troops made their appearance most opportunely for his holiness, and Chaumont, regretting the opportunity which he had lost, and suffering from the want of supplies, withdrew himself into the Milanese.^(a) During the residence of the pope at Bologna, he had entertained suspicions of Giuliano, the brother of the cardinal de' Medici, whom he confined in the palace, under an idea that he had conspired with his ancient friends the Bentivoli to effect their return; a few days, however, convinced the pope

Iratusque sacras claves in flumina jecit
 Tybridis, hic Urbi pons ubi jungit aquas.
 Inde manu strictum vagina diripit ensem,
 Exclamansque truci talia voce refert;
 Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,
 Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat ista Petri."

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 62. *Guicciard. Histor. d'Ital.* lib. ix. vol. i. p. 500.

CHA P. that his distrust was unfounded, and Giuliano was
 VIII. again restored to liberty. (a)

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Louis XII.
 opposes the
 authority of
 the pope.

The vehemence of Julius II. in subjecting all his enemies indiscriminately to the penalties of ecclesiastical censures, at length gave rise to a more alarming opposition than any which he had heretofore experienced. In devoting Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, to the pains of excommunication, he had expressly included in the same censure all those who supported his cause. The emperor elect Maximilian, and Louis XII. were therefore virtually under the anathema of the church. Considered merely in a spiritual point of view, this was by no means an object of indifference at a time when the efficacy of the keys of St. Peter had never yet been questioned; but however insensible these monarchs had been to their spiritual welfare, the censures of the pope, in releasing their subjects from their obedience, had laid the foundations of rebellion and tumult in every part of their dominions. Louis XII. endeavoured to remonstrate with Julius on this unjustifiable use of his pontifical power; but the pope, instead of attending to his representations, shut up his minister, the cardinal of Auch, in the castle of S. Angelo. (b) Alarmed and exasperated to a high degree, Louis called together the French prelates, and requested their united opinion, whether he was justifiable in defending against the papal arms a prince of the empire, whom the pope had endeavoured to divest of a state which had been held under the imperial sanction for more than a

(a) *Guicciard. Hist. d'Ital. lib. viii. vol. i. p. 464.*

(b) *Ibid. lib. ix. vol. i. p. 484.*

century. (a) The reply of the clergy was, as might be expected, favourable to the views of the king, and in removing his scruples emboldened him to a more decided opposition. As a mark of his determined hostility against the pope, he caused a medal to be struck with his own portrait, bearing the title and arms of king of France and Naples, and the motto, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN. (b) He opened a treaty with Maximilian for the convocation of a general council of the church at Lyons, and five cardinals had already expressed their willingness to attend the assembly. Maximilian not only listened with eagerness to the proposal, but, it has been said, formed also the design of procuring himself to be elected to the papacy, and although this has been considered as an empty and unfounded report, (c) yet it accords too well with the vain and fluctuating disposition of Maximilian, and is too well supported by historical evidence to admit the supposition of its being wholly destitute of foundation. (d) Whether this gave

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(a) The author of the History of the league of Cambray supposes, that this was *Bologna*, which had been long held by the Bentivoli; but Muratori has decisively shewn that the place alluded to was *Comacchio*, which was a feud of the empire, and had been held under the imperial investiture by the dukes of Ferrara upwards of one hundred and fifty years. *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 63.

(b) *Thuani Histor.* lib. i. p. 16. Ed. Buckley. The meaning of this inscription has given rise to much discussion, and to several learned dissertations; for some account of which, v. *Note of M. Henke, in Germ. ed.* vol. i. p. 454. *

(c) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 64.

(d) "Ce désir de Maximilien pour la papauté, ne paroissoit pas fort certain; mais M. Bayle, (*Response aux questions d'un Provincial*, tom. ii.) l'a prouvé de nouveau, par une lettre tres curi-

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rise to difficulties which were not easily obviated, or whether other causes prevented the assembly of the proposed council of Lyons, that measure did not take place; but it was not long before a similar proceeding was resorted to, which for some years divided the authority and disturbed the repose of the Christian world.

Mirandula
captured by
Julius II. in
person.

The great object to which the pope now turned his exertions, was the destruction of the duke of Ferrara, and the reunion of his territories with the states of the church; but before he could attack the dominions of Alfonso with a full prospect of success, he judged it necessary to possess himself of the principalities of Mirandula and Concordia, then held by Francesca, the widow of Lodovico Pico, and daughter of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio. In the month of December, 1510, Concordia submitted to his arms; but Francesca refused to surrender her capital, and avowed her intention of defending it to the last extremity. For a considerable time the united force of the Venetian and papal troops was ineffectually employed to reduce the place; when at length the pope, exasperated beyond measure at the delay, and distrusting even his own generals, among whom his nephew the

euse, écrite du tems même de cet empereur, et à laquelle il paroît que ce sçavant soit le premier que nous ait fait faire attention." *Fresnoy, Méthode pour étudier l'Hist.* tom. i. p. 119.

Mr. Henke seems to think that it was not so much the ecclesiastical power of the pope at which Maximilian aimed, as the appropriating to himself the ancient Roman Imperial dignity, to which that of the pontificate also appertained. *v. Germ. ed.* vol. i. p. 455. Count Bossi has also thrown additional light on this subject in an excellent note, where he has given a striking character of Maximilian. *v. Ital. ed.* vol. iii. p. 206.

duke of Urbino held the chief command, determined to join the army in person, and forward the operations of the assailants. In the midst of the severest winter that had been known in Italy for many years, the hoary pontiff marched at the head of his troops, amidst frost and storms, to the attack of Mirandula. He directed in person the planting of the artillery; he regulated the order of the attack; he exposed himself fearlessly to the fire of the enemy, till at length he effected a breach in the walls, and reduced the besieged to the necessity of a capitulation. In compliance with the terms agreed on, the inhabitants hastened to open their gates; but such was the impetuosity of the pontiff, that without waiting for a formal surrender he mounted a scaling ladder, and entered the city, sword in hand, through the breach in the walls. (a) Having there received the submission of Francesca, he delivered up the place to his adherent Giovan-Francesco Pico, who justly claimed the supreme authority as his right of inheritance. (b)

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(a) 21st Jan. 1511. *Muratori, Annal. d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 65. Of the magnanimous conduct of the countess Francesca on this occasion, the Cav. Rosmini has, in his *Life of her father*, given a full account. He has also published a letter from Trivulzio to Louis XII. in which is the following anecdote respecting her, which is here given in his own words: "Sire, je vous vueil compter le beau recueil qu'il ont fait à ma dite fille. Le cardinal de Pavie, pour ce qu'ils est son compère, la manda venir devers le pape, et quant elle y baisa le piè, le dict cardinal lui dit: Estez vous la femmelle qui vouliez garder ceste ville contre le pape? Elle lui respondit: Contre vous je l'eusse bien gardée, mais contre le pape je n'ai peu." *v. Rosmini, Ist. di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio*, vol. i. cap. ix. p. 415. vol. ii. p. 300.*

(b) On this occasion M. A. Casanova addressed to the pontiff the following lines:

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After remaining about ten days at Mirandula, to recover from his military fatigues, Julius proceeded to Ravenna, with a determination to attack the city of Ferrara, but the vigilance of the duke was equal to the violence of his enemies, and in several engagements, this experienced soldier and magnanimous prince defeated the united arms of the Venetians and the pope with considerable loss.

Bologna
captured by
the French.

Some overtures being about this time made for the restoration of peace, the pope left Ravenna and repaired to Bologna, for the purpose of meeting the ambassadors of the different potentates; but Julius was not formed for a mediator, and the interview served only to kindle fresh animosities. No sooner was the unsuccessful event of the negotiation known, than the marshal Trivulzio, at the head of a formidable body of French troops, hastened towards Bologna. The pope being apprized of his approach, and not choosing to confide in the courage or the fidelity of the inhabitants, suddenly quitted the place, and accompanied by his whole court, returned to Ravenna. He did not, however, fail to admonish his faithful subjects to retain their allegiance to him, and to de-

In Julium II. Pont. Max.

“ Vix bellum indictum est, cum vincis, nec citius vis

Vincere, quam parcas; hæc tria agis pariter.

Una dedit bellum, bellum lux sustulit una;

Nec tibi, quam bellum, longior ira fuit.

Hoc nomen divinum aliquid fert secum; et utrum sis

Mitior, ane idem fortior, ambiguum est.”

Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. vol. iii. p. 284.

Many interesting particulars respecting the capture of Mirandula, and the conduct of Francesca, are given in the letter of Leonardo da Porto. *Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 9.

fend themselves to the last extremity ; and he intrusted the chief command to Francesco Alidosio, cardinal of Pavia, who on the departure of the pope took the speediest measures for the defence of the place. The exhortations of the pontiff were however soon forgotten. As the enemy approached, the inhabitants began to dread the lingering torments of a siege, or the sudden horrors of a direct attack. The exiled family of the Bentivoli had yet their partizans within the walls. It was to no purpose that the cardinal entreated the citizens to co-operate in the defence of the place with the duke of Urbino, who closely watched the motions of the French army, or that he requested them to admit a body of one thousand papal troops within the walls. The revolt became apparent, and the cardinal with some difficulty effected his escape to Imola ; whilst Annibale and Hermes Bentivoli, who had followed the French army, were received into the city with joy, and re-assumed the government of their native place. One of the first outrages of popular fury was the destruction of the beautiful statue of Julius II. cast in brass by Michel Agnolo, which, after having been indignantly dragged about the city, was broken in pieces, and sent by the French commander to the duke of Ferrara, who formed it into a cannon, to which he gave the name of *Julio*. The head alone was preserved, and continued for some time to ornament the ducal museum at Ferrara. (a)

(a) This statue, which was raised at the expense of five thousand gold ducats, (*Murat. Ann.* vol. x. p. 67,) gave rise to the following satirical lines of Piero Valeriano :

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VIII.

A. D. 1511.
A. Æt. 36.

The cardinal of Pavia
assassinated
by the duke
of Urbino.

The loss of the city of Bologna, which was soon followed by the defeat and dispersion of the papal troops in its vicinity, (a) led the way to another incident which occasioned the pope still greater distress. From Imola the cardinal of Pavia had hastened to Ravenna, to excuse himself to the pope for having left the city of Bologna to be occupied by the arms of the French; in the course of which exculpation it was supposed that he intended to charge the duke of Urbino with having, through inattention or negligence, contributed to this disaster. The pope, who entertained a favourable opinion of the cardinal, was well disposed to listen to his representations, and appointed a time when he should visit him; but as the cardinal was proceeding on horseback with his attendants

“ Quo quo tam trepidus fugis, Viator,
Ac si te Furiæve, Gorgonesve,
Aut acer Basiliscus insequantur ?
—Non hic JULIUS—at figura JULII est.”

Valer. Hexam. &c. p. 104. Ed. Giol. 1550.

(a) The Cav. Rosmini has represented this as a *signal victory* obtained by Trivulzio, who sent an account of it on the same day (22nd May, 1511,) to Louis XII., stating, “that it was not less glorious to the king than the conquest of Milan itself.” *Rosmini*, vol. i. p. 429. Rosmini has also quoted the authority of Varel-las, who speaks highly of the *Victory of Bologna*, and says, that “all antiquity could not present a parallel to it.” *Ib.* p. 430. But the fact is, that the papal troops, having, on the surrender of Bologna, been deserted by their commander, the duke of Urbino, took to flight, and were attacked and pursued in their disorderly retreat by both the Bolognese and the French, who plundered them of all their military stores and equipage. See the full account of it in Guicciardini, (lib. ix.) whose authority is indisputable, as a contemporary writer intimately acquainted with all the events of the times; and who speaks of it as a *victory* obtained *without a combat*. *

to the proposed interview, he was met in the street by the duke of Urbino, who passed through the midst of the guards, and whilst they ranged themselves on each side to shew him respect, rode up to the cardinal and stabbed him with a dagger, so that he fell instantly dead from his horse. (a) Such an atrocious and sacrilegious act of treachery excited at once the grief and the indignation of the pontiff, (b) who, with severe denunciations against the perpetrator of the crime, instantly quitted Ravenna and hastened to Rome, where he instituted a formal process against the duke and deprived him of all his dignities. The resentment of the pope was not, however, of long continuance. At the expiration of five months he allowed himself to be prevailed upon by the representations of his courtiers, to restore his nephew to his honours; and upon his visiting the city of Rome, and supplicating pardon for his offence, the pope absolved him from his homicide in the presence of all the cardinals, and restored him again to his favour.

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A. D. 1511.
A. Æt. 36.

Whilst the grief of the pope for the loss of Bologna was thus increased by the death of the car-

Council of
Pisa.

(a) The efforts of Julius II. to possess himself, either by force or fraud, of the city of Ferrara, and the various incidents of this expedition, with the death of the cardinal of Pavia, are fully related by Leonardo da Porto, in the letter before cited, written from Venice, to Antonio Savorgnano; in which will be found many circumstances either differently related, or wholly omitted by the historians of the time. *v. Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 9.

(b) Paullus Jovius has, however, attacked the memory of the unfortunate cardinal, with a ferocity equal to that with which the duke of Urbino attacked his person; and not only justifies, but exults in his murder. *v. Appendix*, No. LXI.

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dinal of Pavia, and he was hastening from Ravenna to Rome, to pursue measures against the murderer, he found, on passing through the city of Rimini, that notices were published of a general council of the church, which was to be held in the city of Pisa, on the first day of September, 1511, and at which he was cited to appear in person. This measure was the result of long deliberation between Louis XII. and the emperor elect Maximilian, who having prevailed on several of the cardinals to unite in their views, at length succeeded in exciting against the pope this formidable opposition. At the head of this council was Bernardo Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce, who was equally distinguished by his literary acquirements and political talents, and held a high rank in the college. He was powerfully supported by the cardinal Sanseverino, who being of a Milanese family, and devoted to the cause of the French, was supposed to have prevailed upon the cardinal of Santa Croce to engage in this hazardous undertaking, by representing to him the probability of his obtaining the pontifical dignity on the abdication or expulsion of Julius II. Among the other cardinals who concurred in this measure were those of S. Malo, Bajosa, and Cosenza. The influence which Louis XII. had acquired over the republic of Florence had induced the magistrates, after great hesitation, to concede to him the city of Pisa as the place of assembly; but their assent was rather tacit than avowed, and with such secrecy were the preliminaries adjusted, that Julius was not informed of them until he found himself called upon to appear as a public delinquent,

and his authority openly opposed throughout the whole Christian world. Such a decided instance of disobedience to the supreme head of the church would, at any other time, have moved the indignation of the pontiff, but as it occurred at a moment when his mind was already agitated with his misfortunes, it almost overwhelmed him, and a severe indisposition had nearly completed the wishes of his enemies. This council did not, however, open under the happiest auspices. The appearance of seven cardinals and a few bishops formed a very inadequate representation of the Christian church; and the clergy of the city of Pisa not only refused to take any part in the deliberations of the assembly, but even to allow them the implements for celebrating mass, and closed the doors of the cathedral against them. (a) Nor were the inhabitants of Pisa less dissatisfied, that the Florentines had subjected their city to the disgrace and danger which were likely to be the result of this measure; and in a contest which took place between them and the French troops, on the bridge of the Arno, the French commander, Lautrec, who had been appointed to protect the council, would in all probability have lost his life, had he not been preserved by the courage and the promptitude of his son. (b) A sudden terror struck the assembled ecclesiastics, who began to suspect that they might be betrayed by the inhabitants and delivered up to the pontiff. They therefore quitted the city of Pisa within the space of fifteen days from the time

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib. x. vol. i. p. 559.*

(b) *Jovii, Vita Leonis X. lib. ii. p. 36.*

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A. Æt. 36.The holy
league.

of their meeting, (a) and repaired to Milan; where, under the immediate protection of the French monarch, they constituted themselves a legal assembly, and began to issue their decrees.

No sooner was the health of the pope in some degree restored, than he took the most effectual steps to obviate the ill effects of this alarming opposition. He appointed a general council of the church to be held at Rome in the course of the ensuing year, and he admonished the refractory cardinals to return to their duty within sixty-five days, under pain of the deprivation of their dignities and forfeiture of their ecclesiastical revenues. By the most earnest representations to Ferdinand of Aragon, and the grant to him of the tenths of the clergy throughout his dominions, he prevailed upon that monarch to unite with him and the Venetians in a treaty for the defence of the church. (b) For the purpose of giving greater credit to this alliance, it was denominated *the holy league*, (c) and was celebrated at Rome with great rejoicings. The king of Aragon agreed to furnish twelve hundred men at arms, and ten thousand foot, under the command of Don Raymond de

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. x. vol. i. p. 559.

(b) On this occasion, Massimo Corvino, bishop of Isernia, made an oration before Julius II. and the people of Rome, in the church of S. Maria, which he afterwards addressed to the cardinal de' Medici, as Legate of Bologna. The same event has also been celebrated in a copy of Latin verses. These pieces will be found in the Appendix, No. LXII.

(c) *Lünig, Cod. Ital. Diplom.* vol. ii. p. 798. The brief or proclamation of Julius II. on this occasion, which states the particulars of the forces by land and sea to be provided by each of the parties, is given in the Appendix, No. LXIII.

Cardona, viceroy of Naples, with a train of artillery and eleven galleys of war; the pope, six hundred men at arms, and the Venetians, their whole forces by land and sea. The influence which Ferdinand possessed with his son-in-law, Henry VIII. of England, and the promise of the assistance of the allies in acquiring for that young and ambitious prince the province of Guienne, induced him to become a party in this alliance, and another treaty for this purpose was signed at London, by Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, on behalf of Henry, on the seventeenth day of November, which was confirmed by Ferdinand at Burgos on the twentieth day of December, 1511. (a) In addition to these formidable preparations, Julius again took into his service a large body of Swiss, for the purpose of making a descent into the Milanese, whilst the pope and his allies were to engage the attention of the French in other parts of Italy, and Henry VIII. was to send an army into Guienne. On this occasion the Swiss mercenaries carried the celebrated standard which had often been the ter-

(a) This treaty is published in Rymer's *Federa*, vol. vi. p. 25, and in the collection of Du Mont, vol. iv, part i. p. 137. This alliance was warmly opposed by some of the English council, who more seriously weighed the business, one of whom made a remark which, as lord Herbert justly observes, ENGLAND SHOULD NEVER FORGET. "Let us," said he, "leave off our attempts against the Terra firma. The natural situation of islands seems not to sort with conquests in that kind. England alone is a just empire; or when we would enlarge ourselves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the eternal providence hath destined us, and that is by SEA." *Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.* p. 18. Ed. Lond. 1740.

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ror of their enemies, and on which was inscribed in letters of gold, DOMATORES PRINCIPUM. AMATORES JUSTICIÆ. DEFENSORES SANCTÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESIAE. An inscription, the tenor of which they were not, however, at all times sufficiently careful to observe.

Julius II.
determines
to restore
the Medici
to Florence.

The conduct of the Florentine republic, in permitting the pretended council of the church to assemble in Pisa, had subjected the magistrates, and particularly the *gonfaloniere*, Pietro Soderini, to the resentment of the pontiff, who resolved to avail himself of the first opportunity of punishing with due severity so heinous an offence. The most effectual method which occurred to him for this purpose, as well as to secure the city in future to his own interests, was to restore the family of Medici to their former authority in that place. During all the vexation and dangers which the pontiff had experienced, the cardinal de' Medici had adhered to him with constant fidelity, and had obtained his confidence in an eminent degree. In selecting at this important crisis, a fit person to superintend the papal army, and to direct the operations of the war, the choice of the pontiff fell on the cardinal, who was invested with the supreme command under the title of legate of Bologna. (a) At the same time, in order to stimulate the exertions of the cardinal, and to punish the

(a) Soon after the appointment of the cardinal to this dignity, he was applied to by the poet Ariosto, to exercise his dispensing power in granting him *varia incompatibilia*, or allowing him to enjoy certain ecclesiastical revenues, without entering for a limited time into sacred orders. This proof of the early intimacy which subsisted between the poet and the cardinal, is given in the Appendix, No. LXIV.

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Florentines for the part which they had taken, it was understood, that on the expulsion of the French from Bologna and other parts of the dominions of the church, the cardinal should be allowed to make use of the forces under his command for the re-establishment of his authority in Florence. Already the friends and relations of the Medici within the city had opposed themselves to the party of the *gonfaloniere* with great boldness. A conspiracy was formed against his life, which is attributed, but without any authentic evidence, to the machinations of the pope and the cardinal de' Medici. Princivalle della Stufa, the principal agent in this transaction, was apprehended within the city, but such was the indifference of the people to the safety of their chief magistrate, or the reluctance of Soderini to exert his declining authority, that Princivalle was suffered to escape with only a sentence of banishment pronounced against him. (a) Alarmed at these indications, Soderini endeavoured to prevail on the Florentines to espouse the cause of Louis XII. and to take a decided part in the approaching contest; but in this his efforts were frustrated by the more prudent counsels of his fellow-magistrates, who judged it highly inexpedient to risk their political existence on the event. A temporizing line of conduct was therefore resolved upon, as most suitable to the situation and resources of the republic; and the celebrated historian, Guicciardini, was, on this occasion, despatched as ambassador to the king of Spain, although he was then so young as to be disqualified by the laws of the republic from exer-

(a) *Comment. di Nerli*, lib. v. p. 104.

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A. Æt. 36.Bologna be-
sieged by
the allies,
and relieved
by de Foix.

cising any office of public trust. These measures, instead of satisfying any of the contending parties, gave offence to all, and the Florentine envoy seems sufficiently to have felt the difficulties of the task imposed upon him. (a)

Whilst the pope, the Venetians, and the king of Aragon, were thus combining their efforts for the purpose of expelling the French from Italy, the celebrated Gaston de Foix, nephew to Louis XII. then only twenty-thrêe years of age, had assumed the command of his countrymen, and given early proofs of his courage and military talents. He did not, however, wholly rely upon these qualifications for the success of his enterprizes. Scarcely had the Swiss made their appearance in the states of Milan, than he found means to open a treaty with them, and by the timely application of a large sum of money to their commander and other principal leaders, prevailed upon these adventurers, who carried on war only as a matter of trade, to return once more across the Alps. (b) After having thus secured the states of Milan, he proceeded to the relief of Bologna, the siege of which had been commenced by the allied army on the twenty-sixth day of January, 1512. The supreme direction of the papal troops was on this occasion intrusted to the cardinal de' Medici, as legate of Bologna, under whom Marc-Antonio Colonna acted as general of the church. The Spaniards were led by Don Raymond de Cardona, assisted by Fabrizio Colonna and Pietro Navarro. The Bentivoli within the walls were also encom-

(a) *Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 567.*(b) *Muratori, Annali d' Ital. vol. x. p. 72.*

passed by powerful adherents, and a party of French troops under the command of Lautrec and Ivo d'Allegri were within the city. The allies had now made their approaches in due military form, and a considerable portion of the walls was at length destroyed by the continued fire of their artillery. Whilst this open attack continued, Pietro Navarro had with great assiduity formed an excavation under the city for a mine of gunpowder, which he at length completed. At the appointed moment, the match was applied to the combustibles, which were intended to have laid the city in ruins. It happened, however, fortunately for the inhabitants, that these materials had been deposited under the chapel of the holy virgin *del Barracane*; so that when the explosion took place the chapel rose up into the air, but instantly returned without injury to its former station. As the chapel adjoined the walls, the besiegers had a temporary view of the interior of the city, and of the soldiers engaged in its defence; but from this they derived little satisfaction, as the wall immediately returned to its place and united together as if it had not been moved! Such is the grave account given of this incident by contemporary historians, (a) which has been as gravely assented to by writers of more modern times. (b) After so

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(a) *Guicciard.* lib. x. vol. i. p. 573. *Jovius in vita Leon. X.* lib. ii. p. 38.

(b) "Erasì per dare l'assalto alla breccia, ma si volle aspettar l'esito di una mina, tirata sotto la capella della Beata Vergine del Barracane nella strada Castiglione, da Pietro Navarro. Scoppiò questa, e mirabil cosa fu, che la capella fu balzata in aria, e tornò a ricadere nel medesimo sito di prima, con restar delusa l'aspettazione de' Spagnuoli, quivi pronti per l'assalto." *Murat. Annali*, vol. x. p. 75.

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decisive a proof of the inefficacy of all further attempts, it can occasion no surprise that the French general de Foix entered the city at the head of sixteen thousand men, without the besieging army having been aware of his approach. (a) The allies had now no alternative but to raise the siege; after which they retreated in great haste for safety to Imola.

Discordant
opinions of
the cardinal
de' Medici
and the Span-
ish general
Cardona.

But whatever doubts may remain respecting the manner in which the siege of Bologna was raised, there can be no difficulty in ascertaining the causes of it, when we are informed that an open difference of opinion had subsisted between the Spanish general Cardona, and the cardinal legate de' Medici; the latter of whom, wearied with the slow proceedings of the allied generals, and well acquainted with the impatient temper of the pope, endeavoured to prevail on Cardona to persevere vigorously in the attack. He lamented that so much time had been suffered to elapse without any impression being made on the city, of which they might then have been in possession; he entreated the Spanish general not to persist in so fatal an error; he represented to him the danger and disgrace of appearing in a hostile manner at the gates of a city, without having the courage to commence an attack; and assured him that he knew not what reply to make to the couriers who arrived daily

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. x. vol. i. p. 573. “Ma il prode Gastone, mosso una notte l'esercito dal Finale, ad onta della neve e de' ghiacci, con esso arrivò a Bologna, nel dì quinto di Febbrajo, e v'entrò per la porta di San Felice, senza che se ne avvedessero i nemici. Il che certo parrà inverisimile a più d'uno, e pure lo veggiamo scritto come cosa fuor di dubbio.” *Murat. Annali*, vol. x. p. 75.

from the pope; whom he could no longer amuse with vain expectations and empty promises. Displeased with the importunity of the legate, the Spanish general complained in his turn, that the legate, who from the nature of his education had no experience in military affairs, should by his intemperate solicitations prepare the way for rash and inconsiderate measures; that the interests of all Christendom were concerned in the event of this contest, and that too much caution could not be employed on such an occasion; that it was the custom of the pontifical see and of republican states to engage precipitately in war, but that they were soon wearied with the expense and trouble attending it, and sought to terminate it on any terms; that the legate ought in this instance to submit his opinion to that of the military commanders, who had the same objects as himself in view, with much greater experience in such concerns. (a) The result, however, demonstrated that on this occasion the churchman was the better general; nor does it seem to have required much penetration to have discovered, that in the situation in which the allies were placed, the capture of Bologna before the French army could arrive to its relief, was the great object towards which the assailants ought to have directed all their efforts. It was not therefore without reason, that the cardinal suspected that the inactivity of the Spanish general was to be attributed to the orders of his sovereign, who, whilst he professed to be desirous of adopting decisive measures in concert with his allies, always directed the operations of his gene-

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(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. x. vol. i. p. 571.*

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A. Æt. 37.Brescia
stormed and
sacked by
the French.

rals in such a manner as he thought most conducive to his own private interests. (a)

The disappointment and disgrace which the allies had experienced before Bologna, was however in some degree counterbalanced by the successes of the Venetians, who about the same time recovered the important cities of Brescia and Bergamo, whence they proceeded to the attack of Crema; but the timely arrival of Trivulzio preserved that place to the French. On receiving information of these transactions, Gaston de Foix resolved to lose no time in repairing the losses of the French arms. Leaving therefore a body of four thousand foot, with a reinforcement of cavalry and archers for the defence of Bologna, he proceeded by rapid marches towards Brescia, and having in his route defeated two bodies of the allied troops, one of them under the command of Gian-Paolo Baglione, and the other of the count Guido Rangone, he arrived in the vicinity of that city, having, as we are assured, on the last day of his march, led his cavalry fifteen Italian miles without once drawing the reins. (b)

On the arrival of the French general before Brescia, he found, that although the Venetians had possessed themselves of the town, they had not been able to reduce the citadel, which was yet held by the French. His first object was there-

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. x. vol. i. p. 571.

(b) —“ Si trovò aver eglino fatto quel giorno, senza mai trarre la briglia a i cavalli, miglia cinquanta: Cosa, che so non sarà creduta; ma io, che fui presente sul fatto, ne faccio vera testimonianza.” *L'Anonimo Padovano, ap. Murat. Annal. d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 77.

fore to reinforce the garrison, which he effected under cover of the night, by introducing three thousand foot and four hundred dismounted cavalry. The defence of the place was intrusted by the Venetians to their commissary Andrea Gritti, upon whom was imposed the double task of attending to the attack of the citadel and the safety of the town. He was, however, supported by a formidable body of troops. The inhabitants of the vicinity were favourable to his cause. Great numbers of them had joined his arms, and the citizens, disgusted with the severity and disorders of the French government, had avowed their determination to sacrifice their lives in the struggle, rather than be compelled to return under its dominion. The summons of the French general, who promised the inhabitants the pardon of the king on their again submitting to his arms, and threatened to sack the city in case of their refusal, produced no other answer than that they were ready to defend themselves to the last extremity. The day preceding the expected attack, the women and children were conducted to the monasteries, and all money and articles of value were concealed with as much privacy as possible. In the morning of the nineteenth day of February, 1512, the French garrison made an irruption from the citadel in great force, whilst de Foix led on his army to attack the ramparts. A bloody engagement ensued between the garrison and the Venetian soldiery, in the great square of the city, in which two thousand of the latter perished. Despairing of all further resistance, the count Luigi Avogadro, one of the Venetian commanders, at

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the head of two hundred horse, rushed through the gate of S. Nazaro, in the hopes of effecting his escape, and of this opportunity de Foix availed himself to complete the rout of the Venetians and the ruin of the inhabitants. The whole French army entered the city sword in hand, and a most dreadful and indiscriminate carnage ensued, in which upwards of eight thousand persons fell a sacrifice to that vindictive rage, which has in all ages disgracefully characterized mankind on similar occasions. (a) The Venetian commissary, Andrea Gritti, with the chief commanders within the city, were made prisoners. Luigi Avogadro being taken in his flight was put to death as a traitor, by the orders of de Foix, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. (b) Enormous sums were exacted from the citizens as their ransom. For seven days the place was delivered up to the violence and rapine of the soldiery. (c) Even the monasteries were forced and plundered; (d) but amidst this scene of horror and of bloodshed, the authority of de Foix is said to have been exerted in preserving the honour of the women who had resorted thither for shelter. Many of the French

(a) The celebrated Bayard, *le Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, who had accompanied the armies of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. into Italy, was present at the capture of Brescia, and gave a proof of that magnanimity which always distinguished his character, in refusing to receive, from the daughters of his hostess, a sum of two thousand pistoles, which their mother had collected to save her house from plunder. *Moreri, Art. Bayard.*

(b) *Jovii, vita Leon X. lib. ii. p. 41.*

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) On this event, Bartolommeo Teaneo wrote a Latin poem in heroic verse, which was printed at Brescia, in the year 1561. *v. Spec. Literat. Brixianæ, par. ii. p. 219.*

soldiers were executed by his orders for violating the sanctuary of the convents, and he at length gave peremptory orders that the army should quit the city and return to their encampments.

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The vigour and rapidity of this young conqueror, who had in the space of fifteen days raised the siege of Bologna, defeated several detachments of the allies, and captured the city of Brescia, alarmed his enemies and astonished all Italy. The city and district of Bergamo, without waiting for the approach of the French, again raised the standard of Louis XII. and there was reason to believe that the whole continental possessions of the Venetian republic would follow the example. Whatever might be the sensations of the senate, Julius II. displayed, however, no symptoms of dismay. On the contrary, his undaunted spirit seemed to rise with the occasion, and no measures were omitted by him which might encourage his allies, and give effect to the great design which he yet entertained of expelling the French from Italy. By the bribe of fifty thousand florins he prevailed upon the emperor elect Maximilian to conclude with the Venetians a treaty for ten months. (a) He incited Henry VIII. of England to prepare a powerful naval armament, for the purpose of attacking the coasts of Normandy and Bretagne, and he induced Ferdinand of Aragon to commence hostilities in France, by sending an army across the Pyrenees. Assailed on all sides by powerful adversaries, Louis XII. perceived that he must rely for his security on the prompt and successful efforts of his Italian troops. He therefore directed Gaston de

De Foix at-
tacks Ra-
venna.

(a) v. Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom.* vol. ii. p. 2003.

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Foix to use all his diligence to bring the allies to a definitive engagement. To such a commander little incitement was necessary; and Gaston immediately hastened to Ferrara, to determine with the duke on the measures necessary to be adopted. He had at this time under his command eighteen hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and sixteen thousand infantry; and being joined by the duke of Ferrara, with an additional body of troops and an extensive train of artillery, he proceeded towards Romagna. The cardinal legate de' Medici and the viceroy Cardona, who were at the head of fifteen hundred men at arms, three thousand light horse, and eighteen thousand foot, retired towards the mountain of Faenza, choosing rather to harass the army of the French, and to cut off their supplies, than to risk the fate of Italy on the event of a single battle. The French general was determined, however, not to remain inactive, and directing his course towards Ravenna, he stormed in his progress the fortress of Russi, where he put to the sword not less than a thousand persons. Arriving under the walls of Ravenna, he instantly commenced the attack. The artillery of the duke of Ferrara, which was on all occasions irresistible, soon effected a breach in the walls and the French rushed on to the assault. It appeared however, that on this occasion, the vigilance of the allies had been equal to the activity of the French commander. Marc-Antonio Colonna, with a powerful body of troops, had entered the city to assist in its defence. An obstinate engagement took place on the ramparts, which continued for four hours, and in which about fifteen hundred sol-

diers were killed ; but notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the assailants they were at length obliged to relinquish the attempt. (a)

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Battle be-
fore the
walls of
Ravenna.

But although the French general had failed for the present in his attack upon Ravenna, in another respect he accomplished the purpose which he had in view, by compelling the commanders of the allied army to abandon their system of procrastination, and to hasten towards that city for its more effectual relief. Whilst Gaston de Foix was rallying his soldiers to a second attack he received intelligence of the approach of the enemy, and before he was prepared to oppose them in the field, he found that they had raised intrenchments within three miles of Ravenna. In this conjuncture, his situation was critical. To persist in the siege of the city was impossible, whilst an army equal in number to his own lay ready to seize the first opportunity of a favourable attack. To assail the allies in their intrenchments, and force them to an engagement, whilst his enemies might harass him from the fortress of Ravenna, seemed almost equally inexpedient. The sufferings of the soldiers and horses from the want of accommodation and provisions would not, however, brook delay, and Gaston resolved at all events to storm the enemy in their intrenchments, and force them to an open conflict. The order of this dreadful battle, which took place on the eleventh day of April, 1512, and in which the flower of both armies was destined to perish, is described at great length both by the French and Italian historians. (b) Among the

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 80.

(b) *Jovius, vita Ferdinandi Duvalos, March. Pescara, lib. i. Guicciard. lib. x. Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv. iii. &c.*

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French commanders the most conspicuous was the cardinal Sanseverino, legate of the council of Milan, who, clad in complete armour, marched at the head of the troops, and being of a tall and imposing figure appeared like another St. George. The cardinal de' Medici, as legate of the church, held the chief authority in the allied army; but although in the midst of a camp, his habiliments were those of peace, (a) and he differed no less from his brother cardinal in his mild and humane disposition, than in the pacific demonstrations of his external appearance. For the more active part of warlike operations the cardinal de' Medici was indeed in a great degree disqualified by the imperfection of his sight, but in maintaining the good order of the camp he was indefatigable, and he frequently and strenuously exhorted both the commanders and the soldiery to contend with courage and unanimity, for the protection of themselves and their possessions, the preservation of the holy see, and for the common liberties of Italy. (b) The Spanish troops, on which the principal reliance was placed, were led by the viceroy Cardona; the Italians by Fabrizio Colonna; and the command of the light-armed cavalry was intrusted to the young and accomplished Ferdinando Dávalos, marquis of Pescara, who had lately married Vittoria the daughter of Fabrizio Colonna, one of the fairest patterns of female excellence and conjugal affection that the world has hitherto seen.

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. x. vol. i. p. 588.

(b) "Tribunos, Centuriones, ac milites ipsos, ut pro servando Sedis Apostolicæ patrimonio, pro aris ac focus, pro communi Italiæ libertate, pro salute, pro dignitate, strenuissime decertarent, graviter copioseque est adhortatus." *Brandolini, Leo.* p. 85.

The reputation which Pietro Navarro had acquired by his superior skill as an engineer, had not only raised him to a high command in the allied army, but had given great authority to his opinion. On this occasion, he earnestly recommended that the army should remain in its intrenchments, and should trust for success in the first instance to its artillery, which he had advantageously arranged in the front of their works. In this opinion he was opposed by Fabrizio Colonna, who contended, that as the French army were under the necessity of crossing the river Ronco to proceed to the attack, it would be more advisable to oppose them as they approached in detached bodies, than to wait till the whole army had formed itself in order to assault the intrenchments. The advice of the Spaniard prevailed, and the French army arrived unmolested within a short distance of the allied camp. Perceiving, however, that the allies did not choose to quit their intrenchments, they formed their line, with the artillery in front, and for the space of two hours the adverse armies employed themselves in cannonading each other; in the course of which a great slaughter was made without any decisive effect being produced. In this contest the allies had, from their situation, a manifest advantage; but the duke of Ferrara, perceiving the fortune of the day inclining against the French, hastened with his artillery to their relief, and having obtained an advantageous position, which commanded the intrenchments, attacked the allies in flank with such impetuosity, that they could no longer resist his fury. (a) The mingled slaugh-

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The allies
defeated by
de Foix, and
the cardinal
legate de'
Medici
made pri-
soner.

(a) Ariosto attributes the success of the French on this occasion to the courage and conduct of the duke of Ferrara :

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ter of men and of horses, who fell without an opportunity of resistance, roused the resentment of Fabrizio Colonna, who with bitter reproaches against the Spanish generals, at length rushed from his intrenchments, and was followed by the rest of the allies. The hostile shock of these armies, each of them inflamed by national enmity, and exasperated to the highest degree by the preceding events of the war, was bloody and destructive beyond all that had been known in Italy for many years. The whole body was in immediate action. The courage of the Spanish infantry changed more than once the fortune of the day. In the declining state of the allied army, the marquis of Pescara made an impetuous attack on the wing of the enemy with the whole of the light cavalry, but was repulsed with great loss, and after a severe conflict the allies were compelled to give way and to seek their safety by flight. All their artillery, standards, and equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy, and upwards of nine thousand of the allies lay dead on the field. The cardinal legate de' Medici, Fabrizio Colonna, the marquis of Pescara, Pietro Navarro, and many other eminent commanders, and men of high rank, were made prisoners. The viceroy Cardona effected his escape to Cesena, where he endeavoured to

“ Costui sarà col senno, e con la lancia,
 Ch' avrà l' onor ne i campi di Romagna,
 D' aver data a l' essercito di Francia
 La gran vittoria contro Giulio, e Spagna.
 Nuoteranno i destrier fin' a la pancia
 Nel sangue uman per tutta la campagna ;
 Ch' a sepelire il popol verrà manco
 Tedesco, Ispano, Greco, Italo, e Franco.”

Orland. Fur. cant. iii. st. 55.

collect together the scattered remains of his troops. But if the Italians and Spaniards had just reason for lamentation, the French had no cause for rejoicing. The number of their slain is authentically stated to have exceeded even that of the allies, and to have amounted to no less than ten thousand five hundred men. (a) Among this number were the celebrated Ivo d'Allegri, who had for several years fought the battles of his sovereign in Italy, and two of his sons. The sieur de Lautrec, uncle to de Foix, and second in command, was found on the field of battle covered with wounds ; from which he, however, recovered. But the greatest disaster of the French army was the death of the general in chief, the celebrated Gaston de Foix, who burning with an insatiable thirst of slaughter, engaged, at the head of one thousand horse, in the pursuit of three thousand Spanish infantry, and in the midst of his career received a shot from a harquebus which instantly terminated his days. The untimely fate of this young hero damped the ardour of his countrymen in the moment of victory, and his memory has seldom been adverted to, even by the Italians themselves, without the highest admiration and applause. (b) The benignant philosopher, in the

Death of
de Foix.

(a) *Muratori, Annali d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 82.

(b) His body was brought to Milan, and deposited with pompous ceremonies in the cathedral ; but on the subsequent expulsion of the French from Milan, the cardinal of Sion ordered it to be disinterred, as the remains of a person excommunicated, and sent it to be privately buried in the church of the monastery of S. Martha. On the recovery of Milan by the French, in the year 1515, a magnificent tomb was erected to the memory of this young warrior, by Agostino Busti, a Milanese sculptor, consist-

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recesses of his closet, may perhaps lament that such extraordinary talents were exerted, not for the benefit, but the destruction of mankind; and the generous soldier may regret, that on some occasions, this great man sullied the glory of his arms by unnecessary acts of vindictive barbarity; but it would be invidious in a modern historian to attempt to tear the laurels which have now bloomed for nearly three centuries round his tomb.

Surrender
and plunder
of Ravenna.

The victorious army now returned to the attack of Ravenna. Marc-Antonio Colonna, despairing of the defence of the place, withdrew his troops into the citadel, where he defended himself for four days, at the expiration of which time he quitted the city under a capitulation, by which it was agreed that he and his followers should not, for the space of three months, carry arms against the king of France or the council of Pisa. (a) A

ing of a figure of de Foix as large as life, and ten pieces of sculpture in marble, most exquisitely finished, representing the various battles in which he had been engaged. This monument remained till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was suffered to be demolished, and the ornaments were carried away. *v. Vasari. Giunti*, vol. i. p. 51; vol. ii. p. 180; vol. iii. p. 31. *Ligue de Camb.* vol. ii. p. 149. The death of de Foix is commemorated in the following lines of Antonio Franc. Raineri:

DE GASTONE FOXIO.

“ Funera quis memoranda canat, clademque Ravennæ,
Et tua, summe Ducum, facta, obitumque simul?
Ingentes cum tu incedens per corporum acervos,
Jam victor strage, heu, concidis in media.
Gallica sensere Hesperii quam vivida virtus,
Sensere, ultrici cum cecidere manu.
Sic obitu, juvenis, Decios imitaris; et armis
Sic geminos, belli fulmina, Scipiados.”

Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. vol. viii. p. 60.

(a) *Ligue de Camb.* liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 154.

deputation from the inhabitants had also endeavoured to arrange with the French commander the terms of surrender; but a party of Gascons having led the way through the breach of the walls into the city, a general and indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants took place, without regard either to age or sex. Even the monasteries on this occasion afforded no shelter to the unhappy victims of brutal ferocity; until the Sieur de la Palisse, on whom the chief command of the French army had devolved, being informed of these disgraceful enormities, hastened into the city with the laudable resolution of repressing them to the utmost of his power. He first directed his steps towards a convent, into which thirty-four of his soldiers had intruded themselves by violence, and ordering his attendants to seize upon them, he had them instantly hanged through the windows. (a) This decisive measure was followed by a proclamation, threatening the same fate to all who should not instantly relinquish their depredations and return to their duty; and having thus restrained his soldiery he led them again to their encampments. The cities of Imola, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, and several other places, alarmed at these disastrous events, sent deputies to testify their obedience to the king of France, and almost the whole extent of Romagna was once more occupied by his arms.

In this bloody contest, in which so many of his friends and adherents had fallen, the cardinal de' Medici gave eminent proofs of constancy and firmness of mind. Although unarmed and defenceless in the midst of the battle, he still continued to en-

(a) *Muratori, Annal. d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 83.

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The cardinal despatches Giulio de' Medici to Rome with intelligence of the defeat.

courage his troops, and displayed an example of that patient fortitude which is perhaps more difficult than the fiercer spirit of active hostility. Even when the fate of the day was decided, he did not immediately attempt to quit the field, but devoted himself to the care of the dying and to the administration of that spiritual comfort, which consoled the last moments of life by the animating hopes of immortality. (a) Whilst engaged in the performance of these duties, he was seized upon by two horsemen, who regardless of his high dignity were proceeding to treat him with insult; but from their hands he was rescued by the courage and promptitude of the cavalier Piatese of Bologna, who having killed one of the assailants, wounded the other and dragged him from his horse. A body of Greek cavalry in the French service soon afterwards made their appearance, and rendered all further resistance on the part of the cardinal fruitless. By them he was delivered over to Federigo Gonzaga of Bozzolo, to whom, as to an officer of high rank and honour, he willingly surrendered himself. (b) Being transferred by Gonzaga to the custody of the cardinal Sanseverino, he was received by that warlike prelate with all the kindness and attention which the equality of their rank and their former intimacy gave him a right to expect. By his indulgence the cardinal de' Medici obtained permis-

(a) "Legatus Apostolicus in clade Ravennate non arripuit fugam, sed morientes sacro *juvit* officio; maluitque ab hostibus capi, quam Apostolici viri munus non obesse." *Luc. Eremita in Hist. Romualdina. ap. Raph. Brand. Leo. p. 85.*

(b) *Jovii in vita Leon. lib. ii. p. 46. Ammirato, Ritratto di Leone, vol. x. p. 69.*

sion for his cousin Giulio, knight of Rhodes, who had fled with the viceroy Cardona, to pay him a visit under the sanction of a safe conduct. On his arrival at the French camp the cardinal de' Medici lost no time in despatching him to the pope, under the pretext of recommending himself and his interests, during his imprisonment, to his holiness and to the consistory; but in fact to give them the fullest representation of the state of both armies, and of the situation of the different parties, in consequence of the important events which had of late taken place.

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The intelligence of the battle of Ravenna had been conveyed to Rome within two days after it had occurred, by the vigilance of Ottaviano Fregoso, (a) and the consternation which it occasioned had nearly induced the pope to quit the city; for which purpose he had already ordered the commander of his galleys to make preparations. (b) Amidst the clamours of the cardinals, who earnestly entreated him to listen to terms of peace, and the instigations of the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors, who with equal warmth exhorted him to persevere in hostilities, Giulio de' Medici arrived, and by the full information which he brought, relieved in a great degree the apprehensions of the pontiff. He was immediately introduced into a full consistory, where he represented to the as-

Fatal effects
of the bat-
tle of Ra-
venna to
the French.

(a) Fregoso is introduced as one of the interlocutors in the celebrated *Libro del Cortigiano*, of Castiglione, where he is denominated "Uomo a i nostri tempi rarissimo, magnanimo, religioso, pien di bontà, d'ingegno, prudenza e cortesia, e veramente amico d'onore e di virtù, e tanto degno di laude, che li medesimi inimici suoi furono sempre costretti a laudarlo." *In Præf.* p. 9.

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. x. vol. i. p. 594.

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sembled ecclesiastics the debilitated state of the French army; the number of able commanders of whom it had been deprived, and of soldiers who were disabled by their wounds from immediate service. He informed them that the sacking of Ravenna had contributed to relax the discipline of the French army; the commanders of which appeared to be undetermined what course they should take, and waited for directions from the king; that jealousies had arisen between la Palisse and the cardinal Sanseverino, who wished to unite in himself the offices of both legate and general; that rumours were frequent in the French camp of the approach of the Swiss, and that, under all these circumstances, no immediate danger was to be apprehended from the further progress of the French. These representations were well founded. The battle of Ravenna was, in every point of view, more fatal to the French than to the allies. The resistance which they had met with had diminished that confidence in their superior courage, which had on many occasions contributed to their victories. Their favorite leaders had fallen, and the prime of their soldiery, the vigour and nerve of their army, was destroyed. From this fatal day the affairs of the French king began rapidly to decline, and the victory of Ravenna prepared the way for the total expulsion of his arms from Italy.

From the vicinity of Ravenna the cardinal de' Medici was conveyed to Bologna, where he was received by the Bentivoli, the ancient friends of his family, with such kindness as left him nothing to regret but the loss of his liberty. He was soon afterwards transferred, in company with many

other noble prisoners, from Bologna to Milan; whence they were to be sent by the orders of Louis XII. into France. On passing through the city of Modena he experienced the friendship and liberality of Bianca Rangone, one of the daughters of Giovanni Bentivolio, who deprived herself of her ornaments and jewels, to enable him to provide for his wants during his imprisonment. (a) That generosity for which she exacted no return was, however, repaid some time afterwards with ample interest, and the grateful munificence which she herself experienced, and the elevation of her sons to the chief offices of the Roman state, were the result of her disinterested bounty.

On his arrival at Milan he was allowed to reside with the cardinal Sanseverino, and was frequently visited by the chief nobility of the place, the Visconti, Trivulzi, and Pallavicini, by whom he was treated with no less respect than if, instead of a prisoner, he had arrived there as a conqueror and a friend. (b) At this place he found that the self-constituted council of the church continued its meetings with great formality. The late victories of the French had given additional importance to its proceedings, and frequent publications were made at the doors of the great church for Julius II. to appear and defend his cause. Whatever anxiety these measures might produce at Rome, they only excited the derision of the populace at Milan, who were accustomed to salute the cardinal Carvajal, as he passed through the streets, by the ap-

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*

Is brought
prisoner to
Milan on
his way to
France.

(a) *Jovius, in vita Leon. X. et v. Bandello Nov. vol. ii. Nov. 34. et Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. vii. par. i. p. 83.*

(b) *Jovius, in vita Leo. X. lib. ii. p. 48.*

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pellation of *papa*, in allusion to the expectation which he was supposed to entertain of filling the pontifical chair on the deprivation of Julius II. (a) Nor could all the efforts of the soldiery preserve the associated prelates and ecclesiastics from similar proofs of disapprobation. The prudent conduct of the cardinal de' Medici, who, notwithstanding his misfortunes, supported the dignity of his rank and the authority of the apostolic see, contributed still further to diminish their influence and discredit their proceedings. By the conveyance of his cousin Giulio de' Medici, he received from the pontiff a plenary power of absolving from their offences all those, who in obedience to the commands of their king, had taken arms against the church. No sooner was his commission made public than he was surrounded by crowds of suppliants, eager to obtain from its legitimate fountain a portion of that healing water which could obliterate all their stains. Such was the thirst of the soldiery for this spiritual refreshment, that even the threats of the council were ineffectual to prevent their resorting to the cardinal; and the city of Milan on this occasion exhibited the singular spectacle of a prisoner absolving his enemies from the very crime that had been the cause of his imprisonment, and distributing his pardon to those, who instead of manifesting any substantial symptoms of repentance, demonstrated, even by their detention of him, that they yet persevered in their sins.

(a) *Jovius, in vita Leo. X. lib. ii. p. 48.*

CHAP. IX.

1512—1513.

JULIUS II. opens the council of the Lateran—Louis XII. is desirous of a reconciliation with the pope—Is deluded by him—Expulsion of the French from Italy—The cardinal de' Medici obtains his liberty—Bologna restored to the Roman see—The Colonna release the duke of Ferrara from his dangerous situation at Rome—Ariosto ambassador from the duke to the pope—Diet of Mantua—The Medici attempt to effect their restoration—The Florentines resolve to defend themselves—Indecision of Pietro Soderini—He escapes into the Turkish dominions—Restoration of the Medici to Florence—Extinction of the popular government—Restoration of Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan—Measures adopted by the Medici to secure their power—Conspiracy against them discovered—Death of Julius II.—His character and conduct considered—His encouragement of learning—Elegant library formed by him—Letter from Bembo to the pope on the revival of abbreviated or short-hand writing.

CHAPTER IX.

THE information brought to Rome by Giulio de' Medici of the disabled state of the French army, was daily confirmed by further accounts, which effectually relieved the mind of the pope from the apprehensions which he had at first entertained. Julius II. easily perceived, that if the French were unable to reap the promised fruits of their victory, they would soon be obliged to act on the defensive, and his deliberations on this subject inspired him with fresh hopes that he should soon see his desires accomplished in their total expulsion from Italy. In the mean time he resolved to counteract the dangerous effects of the assembly at Milan, which was now usually denominated the *conciliabulum*, by opening a general council in the church of St. John Lateran; which he accordingly did with great solemnity, on the third day of May, in the year 1512. On this occasion he presided in person, accompanied by the college of cardinals, and such other dignified ecclesiastics as were then in Rome. Several of the Italian princes and nobles of high rank also attended the assembly; and the emperor elect Maximilian, the kings of England and of Aragon, the republic of Venice, and most of the Italian states, declared by their ambassadors their abhorrence of the council of Milan, and their faithful adherence to that of the Late-

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Julius II.
opens the
council of
the Lateran.

CHAP. ran, as the only true and legitimate representa-
IX. tion of the Christian church. (a)

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Louis XII.
is desirous
of a recon-
ciliation
with the
pope.

The directions given by Louis XII. to his general, la Palisse, were to follow up the advantages obtained by the victory of Ravenna, and to proceed immediately to Rome; but a more accurate estimate of the situation of his army induced him to countermand these orders; and the French troops, in fact, soon found sufficient employment in opposing the increasing power of the allies. At the same time Louis began to entertain serious apprehensions for the safety of his own dominions. Henry VIII. had already notified to him, that the treaties of amity which subsisted between them, were accompanied by a condition that he should not make war against either the pope or the king of Aragon; and that the infraction of this article would be considered as the commencement of hostilities. The first information which Ferdinand of Aragon is said to have received of the defeat of his troops at Ravenna, was by a letter to his young queen from her uncle Louis XII. in which he endeavoured to console her for the loss of her brother, the gallant Gaston de Foix, by informing her that he died with great glory in the moment

(a) The proceedings of the council of Lateran were collected by the cardinal di Monte, and published at Rome in the year 1521, under the title,

“ SA. LATERANENS.

CONCILIUM NOVISSIMUM

SUB JULIO II. ET LEONE CELEBRATUM.”

The first act, on opening the session, which adverts in a particular manner to the battle of Ravenna and the captivity of the cardinal de' Medici, is given from this publication in the Appendix, No. LXV.

of victory. (a) With whatever emotions she received this intelligence, it was a sufficient admonition to Ferdinand to send new reinforcements to his kingdom of Naples, which he feared might be endangered by the rapid successes of the French; and it is said that on this occasion he had intended to have once more availed himself of the services of the great Gonsalvo. The emperor elect Maximilian had now accommodated his differences with the Venetians, and decidedly espoused the cause of the pope; for which he expected his reward in the possession of the states of Milan and the duchy of Burgundy. Alarmed by these numerous and powerful adversaries, Louis XII. began to conceive that the best use which he could make of the recent successes of his arms, would be to effect a reconciliation with the pontiff with as little delay as possible.

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In the fluctuating politics of these times, negotiations were always carried on even in the midst of hostilities, and might in truth be considered as another mode of warfare, in which superior talents and sagacity were often employed to make amends for want of success, or inferiority of military strength. Whilst the conflict took place before the walls of Ravenna, a treaty was depending between Louis XII. and the pope, in which it had among other articles been proposed, that Bologna should be restored to the holy see; that the duke of Ferrara, on being absolved from spiritual censures, should relinquish the places of which he had possessed himself in Romagna; and that the council of Milan should be dissolved; the car-

Is deluded
by him.

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dinals and prelates who had adhered to it, not being prejudiced in their dignities or their revenues. (a) This treaty, the conditions of which were so favourable to Julius II. had been transmitted to Rome for his final approbation and signature; and having, as he conceived, thus in his power the choice of peace or of war, he had for some time postponed his decision, in the hopes that events might occur which might enable him to obtain still better terms. The defeat of his arms at Ravenna called for an immediate determination; and although he had already begun to recover from his panic, yet he thought it advisable to confirm the treaty nine days after he had received intelligence of that event. So far was he, however, from intending to adhere with fidelity to his engagement, or so fearful was he of giving offence to his allies, that he immediately afterwards called into his presence the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors, and assured them that his intentions with respect to the prosecution of the war were in no degree altered; and that he had only taken this measure to gain time, and impose upon the king; (b) an assurance which in the result was amply confirmed. The successes of the French arms in Italy, had at first operated as a powerful motive with Louis XII. who was not less ready than the pope to take advantage of any change of circumstances in his favour, to disavow his former propositions; and he particularly objected to the restoration of Bologna, which he affected to consider as the bulwark of his Milanese possessions

(a) *Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 595.*(b) *Bembo, Ist. Ven. lib. xii. in op. vol. i. p. 332.*

against the southern provinces of Italy. The intelligence which he daily received of the rapid decline of his cause, and the formidable attacks with which he was threatened by the other powers of Europe, contributed however, to remove his objections, and he thought proper to avail himself of an offer made by the Florentines to interpose their good offices for effecting a reconciliation. A meeting accordingly took place in Florence between the envoys of the king and those of the pontiff, where the conditions of the treaty were assented to, with some modifications, on the part of Louis XII. which did not affect the substantial articles of the agreement. Julius II. was now, however, well aware of the debilitated state of his adversary. Whilst the negotiations were depending, he had engaged in his service a considerable body of Swiss mercenaries, and the hesitation shewn on the part of Louis XII. had afforded him a sufficient pretext for refusing to confirm the treaty. In order however to justify himself to the world, he directed that the terms proposed should be read in open consistory, that the cardinals might offer their opinions on the measures which it might be expedient for him to pursue. On this occasion Christopher Bambridge, cardinal of York, in the name of the king of England, and the cardinal Arborensis, in that of the king of Spain, exhorted the pope, as it is supposed had previously been agreed on between them, not to abandon the cause of the church, but to persevere with firmness in opposing the arms of the French. Instead therefore of testifying his assent to the treaty, Julius avowed his determination to prosecute the war, and pro-

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nounced, in the consistory, a monitory to the king of France to release his prisoner the cardinal de' Medici, under the penalties contained in the sacred canons. A measure so decidedly hostile was however warmly opposed by the other members of the college, who entreated the pope that he would not, by such severity, wholly alienate the mind of the king, but would postpone the publication of the monitory, and allow them to address to him a letter, signed by themselves individually, requesting him, as a sovereign bearing the title of the *most christian* prince, to restore to liberty their captive brother. (a) To this proposal Julius with some difficulty assented; but fortunately for the cardinal de' Medici, he had no occasion to rely on the clemency of the king, who, notwithstanding he is represented by the French historians as *the best of monarchs*, had given frequent proofs, that his resentment was as implacable in peace, as his cruelty was unsparing in war. (b)

Expulsion of
the French
from Italy.

At this critical juncture, information was received of the approach through the Tyrol of a large body of Swiss in the service of the pontiff. The number for which he had agreed was six thousand; but on this occasion they were stimulated, not only by the certainty of pay and the hopes of plunder, but by their resentment against Louis XII. who, as they were led to believe, had undervalued their

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. x. vol. i. p. 598.

(b) Of this, the massacre committed by his directions, and under his own eye, at Peschiera, in the year 1509, and his conduct to Bartolommeo d'Alviano, whom he retained prisoner in France for many years, may serve, if others were wanting, as sufficient proofs.

courage and despised their services ; and on their arrival in Italy their number was found to be no less than eighteen thousand. Descending into the territory of Verona, they were joined by the Venetian and papal troops ; the former under the command of Gian Paolo Baglioni, the latter under that of the duke of Urbino ; and forming in the whole an army of upwards of thirty thousand men. (a) La Palisse had attempted to fortify himself in Valeggio, but finding the place too weak for defence, and being unable to contend with such superior numbers, he distributed a great part of his troops in the strong garrisons of Crema, Brescia, and Bergamo ; and with the remainder, consisting only of seven hundred lances, two thousand French infantry, and four thousand Germans, retired to Pontevico, a place of considerable strength, and well situated for maintaining a communication between the last mentioned cities and the territory of Milan. (b) On the morning after his arrival at this place, an order was received from the emperor elect Maximilian, that the imperial soldiers in the pay of the king of France should instantly withdraw from his service. These troops, which were chiefly composed of Tyrolese, willing to shew a ready obedience to their sovereign, and perhaps glad to abandon the declining cause of the French, departed on the same day from the camp, and thereby occasioned the total ruin of their late allies. From Pontevico, la Palisse retreated to Pavia ; but being closely pursued by his adversaries, who had prepared their artillery for an attack,

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(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* vol. x. p. 84.

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. x. vol. i. p. 601.

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he suddenly quitted that place and took the road to Asti. This was the final relinquishment of all attempts on the part of the French to maintain their conquests in Italy. The inhabitants of Milan, exasperated at the restless tyranny of their rulers, had already expelled them from the city, and terminated the proceedings of the *conciliabulum*, at the very moment when it had passed a decree for suspending the pope from the exercise of his functions. No sooner were the inhabitants of Lombardy freed from the apprehensions of the French army, than their hatred burst forth in acts of violence and revenge. All the French soldiers and merchants found in Milan, amounting in the whole to about fifteen hundred persons, were indiscriminately slaughtered. In other towns of the Milanese similar massacres occurred. Even whilst the French soldiery were retreating towards the Alps, they were pursued and harassed by the peasantry: who destroyed without mercy such as from incaution, or infirmity, were found at a distance from the main body. (a)

The Cardinal de' Medici effects his escape.

On quitting the city of Milan, the French cardinals had brought along with them, by the express orders of Louis XII. the cardinal legate de' Medici; but the important change which had taken place in the affairs of Italy, and the hurry and confusion which prevailed among the retreating party, soon suggested to him the practicability of an escape. They had already arrived at the banks of the Po, and were preparing to cross the stream, when the cardinal, pretending to be sick, was allowed to repose during the night at the *pieve* or rectory of Cairo. Having thus obtained a favourable op-

portunity of effecting his purpose, he communicated his intentions to the abate Bengallo, who had attended on him with great fidelity, requesting him to use his endeavours to influence some person of rank or authority in the vicinity to afford him a temporary refuge. The request of Bengallo was fortunately made to Rinaldo Zazzi, a man of family, who had exercised in his youth the profession of arms, and was considered as the chief person in the district. His entreaties, which he is said to have urged with tears, might, however, have failed of their effect, had they not been accompanied by a favourable concurrence of circumstances. The memory of Lorenzo de' Medici, who had so long been the pacificator of Italy, and the importance of whose loss had been so fully shewn, was yet fresh in the public mind, and induced a favourable disposition towards his family. Nor was the cardinal himself known by any other qualities than such as conciliated esteem and respect. Such are the motives to which Jovius has attributed the compliance of Rinaldo; but to these he might have added the declining state of the French cause, which, whilst it rendered the fugitives more earnest to effect their own escape than to prevent that of the cardinal, at the same time encouraged the efforts of their opponents. The consent of Rinaldo was, however, obtained only upon condition that Isimbardi, another person of some importance in the neighbourhood, and of an opposite party to Rinaldo, would also assent to the measure. Isimbardi, though with great reluctance, was at length prevailed upon to afford his assistance; and by the concurrence of these new

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and unexpected friends, a small party of the inhabitants was secretly armed, for the purpose of rescuing the cardinal from his conductors. No sooner were the necessary preparations made, than information of them was despatched by Rinaldo to the abate; but even then, the attempt had nearly miscarried, by a mistake of the messenger, who meeting with another ecclesiastic of the same rank as Bengallo, was on the point of communicating to him the purport of his errand before he was aware of his error. The French detachment, among whom was the cardinal, were now preparing to embark, but some pretext was still found by him for delay, and he was among the last who arrived at the banks of the river. Mounted on his mule, he had now reached the side of the vessel, when a sudden tumult, raised by Rinaldo and his followers, afforded him a pretext for turning about, as if to see from what cause it arose. In a moment he found himself encircled by his friends, who without much difficulty, or any bloodshed, repelled the efforts of those who attempted to prevent his escape. Thus happily liberated, the cardinal now assumed the habit of a common soldier, and passing the Po by night, arrived at the castle of Bernardo Malespina, a relation of Isimbardi. He had here to encounter new dangers. Bernardo was of the French faction, and the recommendations of Isimbardi lost their effect. The cardinal was thrust into a dove-house and closely guarded, whilst a messenger was despatched by Malespina to the French general Trivulzio, to inform him of the illustrious fugitive who had fallen into his hands, and to request directions in what manner he should dispose of him.

Trivulzio, though in the service of France, was by birth and disposition an Italian. He saw that the cause of the French was ruined, and was unwilling to aggravate the misfortunes of his countryman; and by his recommendation, or connivance, the cardinal was once more restored to liberty. Arriving at Voghiera, he met with a priest who supplied him with horses, with which he hastened to Piacenza, where he first found himself in a place of safety. He soon afterwards re-passed the Po and proceeded to Mantua, at which city he was received with great kindness by the marquis Francesco Gonzaga, whom he accompanied to his villa of Anda, where he speedily recovered from the effects of his fatigues. (a)

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(a) *Jovius, in vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 49.* This escape of the cardinal de' Medici is considered by Egidius of Viterbo as *miraculous*. "Ego enim, id tantum dixerim; a Domino factum est istud, et præter omnia quæ antea multis seculis gesta sunt, est mirabile oculis nostris." *Ep. ad Seraphinum, in tom. iii. vet. monument. ap. Brandolini, LEO. p. 87.*

The name of *Anda*, *Ande*, or *Andes*, no longer remains; but count Bossi has sufficiently shewn that this villa was precisely the scite of the present *Pietole*, about two miles from Mantua; at a little distance from which is an ancient palace, formerly belonging to the Marchesi Gonzaga, where the cardinal de' Medici found a secure retreat. *v. Ital. ed. vol. iii. p. 220.*

The Cav. Rosmini informs us, that the story of the liberation of the cardinal was painted on the walls of the saloon in the palace of the Marchesi Isimbardi at Cairo, where it yet remains, with the following inscription:

"*Tibi vero, Octaviane Isimbarde, Florentia Medicum, Italia Heroem, orbis Leonem X. debent; quem scilicet profligati apud Ravennam fœderatorum exercitus, Legatum et Captivum ad Basignanam, fugatis Gallicis turmis Ecclesie dexteram futurum aliquando reddidisti.*"

Some time after his attainment to the pontificate (20th August,

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restored to
the Roman
see.

The sudden retreat of the French army from Italy had left little more to be done by the allies than to divide amongst themselves the territories which had thus been abandoned to their fate. The fortresses of Brescia, Cremona, and a few smaller places, were yet held by the French; but the cities of Romagna once more avowed their allegiance to the pope. The states of Parma and Piacenza, which were claimed by the pontiff as part of the exarchate of Ravenna, also submitted to his authority; and, if we may judge from the expression of the public voice on this occasion, the satisfaction of the inhabitants was not less than that of the pope, who had reunited these important domains to the territories of the church. (a) The duke of Urbino, at the head of a powerful body of troops, summoned Bologna to surrender. The Bentivoli, deprived of all hopes of succour, thought themselves sufficiently fortunate to effect their escape, and on the tenth day of June, 1512, the city capitulated to the papal arms. To such a degree was the pope exasperated against the in-

1516,) Leo X. granted a bull of plenary indulgence to all who should visit the collegiate church at Cairo, on two certain days of the year, in which he refers to the circumstances of his escape, and particularly to the assistance of Rinaldo Zazzi. *v. Rosmini*, vol. i. p. 450.

(a) The oration on the part of the citizens of Parma, made by Giacomo Bajardo, one of their ambassadors to the pope, has been preserved in the archives of the Vatican. On the same occasion, Francesco Maria Grapaldo addressed a copy of Latin verses to Julius II. as the liberator of Italy, for which it appears that Julius honoured him with the title of *poet-laureat*. Some account of Grapaldo and his various writings may be found in *Affo, Scrittori Parmigiani*, vol. iii. p. 136. His verses to the pope are given with the oration of Bajardo in the Appendix, No. LXVI.

habitants, who had opposed his authority, **torn** down his statue, and treated his name with contempt, that he subjected them to grievous fines, and deprived them of many of their privileges, threatening even to demolish the place, and remove the inhabitants to Cento. (a) The return of the cardinal de' Medici, who soon afterwards assumed the government as legate of the district, allayed the apprehensions of the populace, and restored the tranquillity of the city. (b) The *fuorusciti*, or refugees, who had been expelled on account of their adherence to the pope, returned at the same time; and as the victorious party expressed their joy, whilst the friends of the Bentivoli were obliged to repress their vexation, the whole city seemed to resound only with acclamations and applause.

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Although the celebrated Italian commander Fabrizio Colonna, had been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, he was more fortunate than the cardinal de' Medici, having fallen into the hands of Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, who knew his worth and treated him with the respect due to his high and unimpeachable character. Louis XII. had at different times requested that Fabrizio might be delivered over to his generals, to be transferred to France; but the duke found reasons to excuse his non-compliance, till the total expulsion of the French from Italy enabled him to gratify the generosity of his own disposition, by freely restoring his captive to liberty. (c) The bloody contest

The Colonna release the duke of Ferrara from his dangerous situation at Rome.

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. x. vol. i. p. 604.

(b) *Jovius, in vita Leon X.* lib. ii. p. 51.

(c) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 81.

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in which the duke had been compelled to take so active a part, being now terminated, he became desirous of obtaining a reconciliation with the pope, and an absolution from the spiritual censures under which he yet laboured; and as Fabrizio, on quitting Ferrara, had returned to Rome, the duke availed himself of his services to discover the disposition of the pope, as to the terms on which he would concede his pardon. Julius expressed no great reluctance in complying with the wishes of the duke, but suggested, that some important arrangements were previously requisite, for which reason his presence would be necessary in Rome. A safe conduct was accordingly granted by the pope; and the Spanish ambassador, in the name of his sovereign, also pledged himself to the duke for his secure return. (a) In the month of June, 1512, he quitted his capital, (b) and on his arrival at Rome was admitted into the consistory, where he humbly requested pardon for having borne arms against the holy see; entreating to be restored to favour, and promising to conduct himself in future as a faithful son and feudatory of the church. Julius received him with apparent kindness, and deputed six cardinals to treat with him as to the terms of the proposed reconciliation; but the surprise of the duke may be well conceived when the ecclesiastics proposed to him that he should divest himself of the territory of Ferrara, which he had derived through a long train of illustrious ancestors, and should accept as a compensation the remote and unimportant city of Asti,

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 5.*(b) *Muratori, Annali d' Ital. vol. x. p. 87.*

to which the pope had of late asserted some pretensions. (a) Of all his family there was no one less likely than Alfonso to have submitted to such a disgrace; but his astonishment was converted into indignation, on hearing, that whilst he was humbly suing for pardon at Rome, the duke of Urbino, at the head of the papal troops, had entered his dominions, and had occupied not only all such parts of Romagna as had been united with the duchy of Ferrara, but the towns of Cento, Brescello, Carpi, and Finale; and had even prevailed upon the inhabitants of the important city of Reggio to admit him within their walls. (b) The design of the pope in requesting the presence of the duke in Rome, if not already sufficiently apparent, was further manifested by his refusal to allow him to quit the city and return to his own dominions. To no purpose did the Spanish ambassador and the nobles of the family of Colonna, some of whom were closely connected by affinity with the pope, intercede with him for the strict and honourable performance of his engagement. Julius answered their remonstrances only by reproaches and threats. Convinced of his perfidious intentions, and anxious for the preservation of their own honour, Fabrizio and Marc Antonio Colonna, resolved to rescue the duke from the danger to which he was exposed. Having, therefore, selected a small band of their confidential adherents, Fabrizio rode at their head towards the gate of S. John Lateran, followed at a short distance by the duke and Marc Antonio; but to his

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital.* lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 2.

(b) *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* vol. x. p. 87.

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surprise, he found the gates more strongly guarded than usual, and his further progress opposed. It was now, however, too late to retreat, and directing his followers to effect a passage by force, he conducted the duke in safety to the fortress of the Colonna family at Marino. The protection of the duke was now intrusted to Prospero Colonna, who secretly conducted him through various parts of Italy; but so diligently were they pursued by the emissaries of the pope, that the duke was frequently obliged to change his disguise, and after having for upwards of three months appeared in the successive characters of a soldier, a cook, a hunter, and a monk, he had the good fortune to arrive in safety at Ferrara. (a) If, amidst the long catalogue of treachery and of crimes, it be pleasant to record a generous action, it is doubly so to find that such action met with a grateful return.

Ariosto ambassador from the duke of Ferrara to the pope.

The vexation and resentment which the pope manifested on this occasion were extreme; and the duke was not without apprehensions that he might have sufficient influence with the allies, to induce them to turn their arms against Ferrara. He determined, therefore, if possible, to mitigate his anger by a respectful and submissive embassy; but such was the well-known character of the pontiff, that he found it difficult to prevail on any of his courtiers to undertake the task. At length he fixed upon the poet Ariosto for this purpose, who preferring the will of his prince to his own safety hastened to Rome. On his arrival he found that the pope had quitted the city, and retired to

(a) *Jovius, in vita Alfonsi*, p. 178. *Sardi, Historie Ferraresi*, lib. xii. p. 226. *Giraldi, Comment. delle cose di Ferrara*, p. 156.

a villa in the vicinity. To this place Ariosto followed him; but on being admitted into the presence of his holiness, he soon discovered that the only chance which he had for his life was to save himself by flight; (a) the ferocious pontiff having threatened, that if he did not instantly quit the place, he would have him thrown into the sea. (b) The poet was happy to avail himself of the safer alternative, and returned with all possible expedition to Ferrara, to relate the result of his embassy to the duke. (c)

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Shortly afterwards a diet was held at Mantua, for the purpose, real or ostensible, of securing the peace of Italy, at which Matteo Langio, cardinal of Gurek, attended with full powers on behalf of the emperor elect Maximilian. The envoy of Julius II. on this occasion was Bernardo da Bibbiena, the intimate friend and faithful adherent of the cardinal de' Medici. (d) Giuliano de' Medici also appeared at this meeting, for the express purpose of obtaining the support of the diet in restoring the Medici to Florence. (e) The con-

Diet of
Mantua.

(a) *Pigna, i Romanzi*, lib. ii. p. 76. *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Ital.* vol. ii. p. 1063.

(b) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Let. Ital.* vol. vii. par. 3, p. 101.

(c) To this embassy Ariosto himself alludes in his second *Satire*.

“Andar più a Roma in posta non accade,

A placar la grand' ira di Secondo.”

(d) *Bandini, Il Bibbiena*, p. 8. That Bernardo had obtained the full confidence of this stern pontiff, appears from a letter of Pietro Bembo, to the brother of Bernardo. “Questo vi dico di vero, che di M. Bernardo tanto onoratamente sente e parla N. S. che è cosa da non credere, considerata la natura di Sua Santità, che di nessuno si contenta, di nessuno si suol lodare.” *Bemb. ep.* 24. *Ottob. 1512. ap. Band. ut sup.* p. 9.

(e) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* vol. xi. pp. 2, 8.

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duct of the Florentines, and particularly of the Gonfaloniere Soderini, had already excited in a high degree the resentment of Julius II. The part, which they had acted during the late war, in which, under the plea of a treaty with Louis XII. they had supplied him both with money and troops, had been aggravated by the permission granted to the refractory cardinals to hold their council at Pisa. In order effectually to destroy the influence of the French in Italy, a change in the government of Florence was regarded as indispensably necessary. The pope had already sent to Florence his datary, Lorenzo Pucci, a native of that place, (a) who having many friends, and great influence there, endeavoured to promulgate opinions adverse to the ruling party; insinuating that it was now become necessary, not only to detach the city from its connexion with France, but to remove Soderini from his office of Gonfaloniere, and call back the Medici to their former authority. These practices had however failed of success, and the agent of the pope had been compelled to quit the city. (b) The diet of Mantua afforded the pontiff a more favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose. Giovan-Vittorio Soderini, brother of the Gonfaloniere, who attended at this meeting as envoy of the Florentines, endeavoured to justify the conduct of the repub-

(a) Afterwards raised by Leo. X. to the rank of cardinal, "de cujus egregia animi firmitate, constantiaque, ac de singulari in Medicam familiam fide et observantia, cuncta sibi poterat verissime polliceri," &c. *Brandolini*, LEO. p. 91. %

(b) *Nerli*, *Commentarii*, lib. v. p. 106. *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 6.

lic, by alleging, that in assisting the French to defend their Milanese possessions, they were acting under a particular convention, which obliged them to that measure, in the same manner as they had also stipulated to defend the Neapolitan dominions of the king of Spain; but arguments of this kind were of little avail. Jovius, who appears not to have been unacquainted with political intrigue, attributes the failure of these representations to the sordid avarice of the Florentine envoy, who ought to have enforced them by the offer of a considerable sum of money to his brother negotiators. (a) Those who, like Jovius, judge of others from themselves, may frequently be in the right; but the overthrow of the Gonfaloniere was already resolved upon, and on this occasion it may well be doubted whether even that powerful lenitive would have softened the severity of his fate.

No sooner had their envoy quitted the diet than the Florentines were declared to be enemies of the league, and the Spanish forces, under the command of Cardona, were directed to assist in restoring the Medici to their native place. The duke of Urbino, then at the head of the papal troops, actuated either by partiality to the cause of the French, of which he had frequently been suspected, or by envy and ill will to the cardinal de' Medici, refused either to take an active part, or to grant the use of his artillery on this occa-

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The Medici
attempt to
effect their
restoration.

(a) "Sed cum hæc una maxime pecunia facile possent expiari, Victorius, scientia juris et æqui, potius quam his artibus instructus, quæ ad tractandas res gravissimas necessariæ existimantur, totam spem rei componendæ foede corrumpit, quum dubitanti avaroque animo, tenacius quam oporteret pecuniis parcendum arbitraretur." *Jov. in vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 52.*

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sion ; nor would he even consent that such of his troops as were commanded by the Vitelli and by the Orsini, the near relations of the Medici, should join in the attempt. (a) These commanders however quitted his camp and joined the allied army in person. Having, on the ninth of August, 1512, passed the Appenines, Cardona arrived at Barberino, accompanied by the cardinal de' Medici, under the title of legate of Tuscany ; and proceeded from thence by the Valdemarina to the plain of Prato. (b) They were met in their progress by ambassadors from the magistrates of Florence, who requested to be informed of the object of the league ; professing themselves willing to comply with it to the utmost of their power, and representing in the strongest terms their adherence to his Catholic majesty, and the advantages which he might expect from their services. To this the viceroy replied, that his appearance there was not merely in consequence of the directions of his sovereign, but was a measure which had been resolved on at the general diet at Mantua, for the common security of Italy, and that whilst the Gonfaloniere Soderini continued to preside in the Florentine state, the rest of Italy could have no assurance that the republic would not, when an opportunity again occurred, attach itself to the interests of France. He therefore required, in the name of the league, that the Gonfaloniere should be deprived of his office, and that a new form of government should be substituted, which might

(a) *Jovius, in vita Leon. X.* lib. ii. p. 52. *Guicciard.* lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 9.

(b) *Nerli, Commentarii*, lib. v. p. 107.

enjoy the confidence of the allied powers, a measure that could not however be effected without the restoration of the Medici to their former privileges and rights. (a)

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The Florentines resolve to defend themselves.

These propositions gave rise in Florence to violent dissensions and debates; but before a definitive answer was returned, the Gonfaloniere called together the *Consiglio maggiore*, or general assembly of the citizens, whom he addressed in an energetic and affecting harangue. He represented to the assembly the principal transactions which had occurred for the space of ten years, during which he had enjoyed his office, and freely offered his services, his possessions, and his life, for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, and the preservation of their liberties. He professed himself willing, at any moment, to relinquish his authority to those who had so long intrusted him with it, should it in their opinion be likely to conduce to the general good; but he entreated them to be cautious, lest the measures which were avowedly directed against himself, should in the event subject the republic to an absolute and tyrannical authority, in comparison with which, the subordination in which they were held by Lorenzo the Magnificent might be considered as an age of gold. (b) The oration of Soderini had a most powerful effect. The assembly resolved that the established form of their government should still be maintained; that the Medici should be allowed to return as private citizens, but that the Gonfaloniere should

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. xi. pp. 2, 9.

(b) The oration of Soderini is given by Guicciardini, lib. xi. pp. 2, 11; *et v. Nerli Commentarii*, lib. v. p. 108.

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of Pietro
Soderini.

not be removed from his office; and that if the commanders of the allied army should persist in this demand, they would defend their liberties and their country to the last extremity. (a)

The first apprehensions of the Florentines were for the town of Prato, about ten miles from Florence, the garrison of which they reinforced with two thousand soldiers, hastily collected, and one hundred lances, under the command of Luca Savello, who had grown old in arms without having acquired either experience or reputation. (b) To these was also added a body of Florentine troops, which after having been attacked and dispersed by the papal army in Lombardy, had again assembled under their leaders. The army of the viceroy consisted of five thousand experienced and well-disciplined foot soldiers, and two hundred men at arms, but they were ill supplied with ammunition and artillery, and even with the necessary articles of subsistence; insomuch that their commander began to entertain serious apprehensions that he should not long be able to maintain his position. He therefore proposed to the Florentine magistrates to withdraw his troops, without insisting on the deposition of the Gonfaloniere, if they would admit the Medici into the city as private inhabitants, and pay to him such a sum of money as should be agreed on, but which should not exceed thirty thousand ducats. For the further negotiation of this treaty, he granted a safe conduct to the Florentine envoys, and proposed to refrain from his projected attack on the town

(a) *Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 12.*(b) *Ibid.*

of Prato, if the Florentines would send to his camp a temporary supply of provisions. (a) This was one of those critical moments on which the fate of a people sometimes depends. Notwithstanding the resolutions of the general assembly, many of the principal citizens earnestly entreated the Gonfaloniere to conclude the negotiation, and in particular to furnish the approaching army with the proposed supply. Soderini hesitated; and this hesitation accomplished his ruin. (b) In consequence of his indecision, the enemy's were prevented from returning to the enemy's camp on the day which had been prescribed for that purpose. The claims of hunger admit not of long procrastination. The town of Prato, which offered a plentiful supply, was attacked with the only two pieces of artillery that accompanied the army, and which had been brought by the cardinal de' Medici from Bologna; the garrison, which consisted in the whole of upwards of four thousand men, shamefully abandoned its defence; and the Spaniards having effected a breach rushed into the town, and made an indiscriminate slaughter as well of the inhabitants as of the soldiery. The number of those who perished is variously estimated from two to five thousand persons. The unsparing violence, licentiousness, and rapacity of the Spaniards, are displayed by all the Florentine historians in terms of sorrow and execra-

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Prato captured and sacked.

(a) Guicciard, *Storia d'Ital.* lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 13.

(b) On this occasion, Guicciardini justly remarks, "Niuna cosa vola che l'occasione; niuna più pericolosa che l'giudicare dell'altrui professioni; niuna più dannosa che il sospetto immoderato." *Storia d'Ital.* lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 13.

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tion, (a) and it is said that if the cardinal de' Medici and his brother Giuliano had not, at the risk of their lives, opposed themselves to the fury of the conquerors, these enormities would have been carried to a still greater excess. (b) By the exertions of the cardinal, a guard was placed at the door of the great church, whither the chief part of the females had retreated for safety; (c) but that these precautions were not always sufficient to answer the intended purpose, is evident from the instances which have been given of the magnanimous conduct of some of the women on this occasion. (d)

(a) *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. v. pp. 149, 153. Nerli, Comment. lib. v. p. 109. Guicciard. lib. xi.*

(b) "Legatus tamen flendo, et notos quosque milites deprecando, Julianusque item frater, et Julius patruelis multos conservarunt, quum neque pecuniæ neque periculis ullis parcerent, et sese vulneribus objectare minime dubitarent, modo ante omnia Matronarum et Virginum pudorem adversus militum libidinem tuerentur." *Jovius, in vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 53.*

(c) "Non sarebbe stata salva cosa alcuna dall'avaritia, libidine, e crudeltà de' vincitori, se il cardinale de' Medici, messe guardie alla chiesa maggiore, non avesse conservata l'onestà delle Donne, le quali quasi tutte vi erano rifuggite." *Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 14.* Other authors, however, affirm that no respect or mercy was shewn either to the sanctuaries of religion, or even to children in the arms. *v. Nardi, lib. v. p. 143. Muratori, Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 88. Ammirato, vol. iii. p. 307.*

(d) One of these is that of a young lady, who to preserve her chastity, precipitated herself from the balcony of the house into the street, and perished by the fall. Another is a transaction of a much more equivocal nature. The wife of an artificer, having been compelled by a soldier to accompany him for several years, at length found an opportunity of revenging herself on her ravisher, by cutting his throat as he lay asleep; after which she returned to her husband at Prato, bringing with her five hundred gold ducats, which she presented to him as a recompense for her violated chastity. *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 149.*

The intelligence of this alarming transaction was received by the Florentine envoys, as they were proceeding to the camp of the allies to conclude the negotiation; but the opportunity for reconciliation was now past, and they therefore speedily returned to Florence to apprise their fellow-citizens of the event. Though distinguished by many good qualities, the Gonfaloniere was not possessed of the courage and promptitude requisite on such an occasion. No effectual measures were yet taken for the defence of the city; and his impolitic adherence to the French had, in this emergency, left him without an ally. His helpless condition was too evident not to be perceived by the friends of the Medici within the city, who resolved not to wait the approach of the viceroy for effecting a revolution. About thirty young men of the principal families, uniting themselves in a body, entered the palace of magistracy, and seizing on the Gonfaloniere, threatened to put him to death if he did not instantly accompany them; at the same time offering him an asylum in the house of Piero Vettori, two of whose sons had engaged in the undertaking, and pledging their faith for his personal safety. Unprovided with the means of resistance, and deserted by his adherents, Soderini peaceably submitted to his fate; and the insurgents having called together the other magistrates, and obtained a solemn deposition of the Gonfaloniere, entered into an immediate treaty with the viceroy. (a) By this act of violence, which is always adverted to by the Flo-

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Deposition
of Soderini.

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 15. *Nardi, Istor. Fior.* lib. v. p. 153.

CHAP. rentine historians with great disapprobation and
 IX. regret, the free constitution of the city received
 A.D. 1512. its fatal wound; but it may justly be doubted
 A.Æt. 37. whether, if such an event had not taken place, the
 consequences would not have been still more to
 be lamented. Had the allied army entered the
 city in an hostile manner, an absolute and severe
 dominion would probably have been substituted
 for the more moderated authority which the Me-
 dici continued to exercise for several years after
 their return; whilst the carnage and devastation
 which would have ensued might have added new
 horrors to the page of history, already too deeply
 stained with the relation of similar events.

He escapes
 into the
 Turkish ter-
 ritories.

The friends of the Medici within the city hav-
 ing thus accomplished their purpose, conducted
 Soderini on the same evening from the house of
 Vettori, and sent him under a guard to Siena; to
 which place he was also accompanied by several
 of his relations and friends. Here he obtained
 from the pope a passport to proceed to Rome;
 but having been apprized by his brother, the car-
 dinal Soderini, that Julius had a design to despoil
 him of his riches, which he was supposed to have
 amassed to a considerable amount, he hastened to
 Ancona, where he took shipping and proceeded to
 Ragusa. Being informed soon after his arrival,
 that the pope had expressed great resentment
 against him, he quitted Ragusa, and took up his
 residence within the Turkish dominions. (a) In
 effecting his escape he had been assisted by An-
 tonio di Segna, who had been sent to him by his

(a) *Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 15. Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. v. p. 152.*

brother to apprise him of the danger which would attend his visit to Rome. Antonio had no sooner returned to the city, than he was seized upon by the order of the pope and committed to prison, where he was subjected to the torture, to compel him to discover the place of retreat of the Gonfaloniere, and the circumstances attending his escape. Being liberated in the course of a few days, he returned to his house, where he soon afterwards died, in consequence of the sufferings which he had undergone, (a) leaving on the memory of Julius II. a stain which will present itself in strong colours, as often as his name occurs to the notice of posterity.

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On the last day of August, 1512, Giuliano de' Medici entered the city of Florence, from which he had been expelled with his brothers, eighteen years before. He was accompanied by Francesco Albizi, at whose house he alighted, and where he was visited by most of the principal families in the place. On this occasion it was remarked, that many of those who had been the most forward in offering their lives and fortunes in the support of Soderini, were the most assiduous in their endeavours to secure the favourable opinion of Giuliano de' Medici. (b) It was not, however, until the viceroy Cardona entered the city, that the

Restoration
of the Me-
dici to Flo-
rence.

(a) "Ma il papa, parendogli essere stato ingannato, nè potendo con altri isfogare la sua collora, tornato che fu Antonio di Segna a Roma, lo fece mettere in prigione, ove hebbe ancora *alcuni tratti di corda*, ed essendo poi ritornato a casa sua ammalato, in pochi dì finì sua vita; e tale fu il ristoro, ch' egli ebbe dell' amorevole servizio fatto al cardinale ed a Piero Soderini." *Nardi*, lib. v. p. 152.

(b) *Nerli*, *Comment.* lib. v. p. 11.

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depending negotiations were finally terminated. Seating himself in the vacant chair of the Gonfaloniere, he prescribed to the magistrates the terms of the treaty on which alone he would consent to withdraw his army. His propositions, although confusedly expressed or ill understood by his reluctant hearers, who were still eager to preserve, at least, the external forms and shadows of liberty, were assented to without opposition. (a) In these discussions the Medici displayed great moderation. They only demanded that they should be allowed to return as private citizens, and should have the right of purchasing their forfeited property and effects at the prices for which they had been sold by government; paying also the amount of such sums as had been laid out in their improvement. With respect to the political connexions of the state, it was agreed that the Florentines should enter into the league with the other allies for the common defence of Italy; that they should pay to the emperor elect Maximilian forty thousand ducats, to the viceroy Cardona, on behalf of his sovereign, eighty thousand, and for his own use, twenty thousand; and they also engaged in a particular alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon for the mutual defence of their respective possessions. (b)

The return of the Medici to their native place

(a) "Le quali cose però erano da lui dette tanto confusamente, che poco si poteva intendere, quali dovessero essere questi provvedimenti, e questi modi dello assicurare; oltre che, et l'udire et l'intendere de gli uomini erano per dolore et dispiacimento dell'animo in modo impedito et preoccupato da gravi pensieri, che poco le sue parole s'attendevano." *Nardi, Hist. di Fior. lib. v. p. 151.*

(b) *Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 151. Nerli, Comment. lib. v. p. 110. vol. vi. p. 113.*

had already overthrown the popular form of the Florentine government, and the expulsion of the Gonfaloniere rendered it necessary to adopt new regulations for the conduct of the state. As the cardinal yet remained at Prato, the magistrates and principal executive officers met together, and admitting Giuliano and his adherents to their councils, they attempted to form such a system, as, whilst it sanctioned the return of the Medici, might counterbalance the preponderating influence which that family had before enjoyed. To this end, they proposed that the Gonfaloniere should be elected for one year only, and that he should not be allowed to carry on any negotiation, or hold correspondence with foreign powers, without a thorough participation with the other members of the state. A council of eighty citizens was to be chosen every six months, and the principal magistrates were to be created by the *Consiglio grande*, as had formerly been the custom. (a) In these regulations Giuliano, who is said to have inherited the mildness and urbanity of his ancestor Veri de' Medici, rather than the political sagacity and vigilance of the great Cosmo, readily concurred; and Giovan-Battista Ridolfi was appointed the first Gonfaloniere under the reformed government. It soon however appeared, that by this institution the Medici were left without authority at the mercy of their opponents; and as the new Gonfaloniere was not only a man of great influence, but strongly attached to the popular party, apprehensions were justly entertained that as soon as the Spanish troops should be withdrawn from

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Extinction
of the pc-
pular go-
vernment.

(a) Nerli, *Comment.* lib. vi. pp. 112, 114.

CHAP. the vicinity, the Medici and their adherents would
 IX. again be expelled. In this emergency many of
 A. D. 1512. the chief citizens resorted to the cardinal at Prato,
 A. Æt. 37. and concerted with him, and with Giulio de' Medici and Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero, the means of repairing the error of Giuliano, and of establishing the government in the same manner as it had been conducted before the expulsion of the Medici in 1494. (a) Whilst the members of the senate were debating on the best mode of carrying into effect the proposed system of their government, the palace was surrounded by armed men, who put a speedy period to their deliberations. In their stead a new council of sixty-six citizens was appointed, the members of which were known to be wholly devoted to the Medici: Ridolfi was compelled to renounce the office of Gonfaloniere, which he had so lately accepted. The brother and nephews of Piero Soderini were ordered to be confined at different places within the Florentine territory, and Giuliano was expressly acknowledged as chief of the state. (b) This event may be considered as the overthrow of the popular government of Florence, and it may perhaps be doubted whether, if the rights of the citizens had been less rigidly insisted on in the deliberations held with Giuliano de' Medici, a greater share of authority might not have been preserved to the people at large than it was afterwards possible to secure. The freedom of a state is as much endangered by intemperance and violence, as by indifference and neglect; and when

(a) Nerli, *Comment. lib. vi.* p. 115.

(b) *Ibid.*

once the spirit of opposition is roused to such a pitch, that either party sees its own destruction in the success of the other, they both resort by common consent to the indiscriminating authority of a despot, as the only shelter from that political resentment, which, whilst it professes to aim only at the public good, seems to be of all passions the most unextinguishable and the most ferocious.

About the same time that the Medici returned to Florence, Maximilian Sforza, the son of Lodovico, who had for several years found a refuge at the imperial court, was restored by the arms of the league to the supreme authority of the state of Milan, as had been agreed on at the diet of Mantua. (*a*) He entered his capital on the fifteenth day of December, 1512, amidst the rejoicings of the populace, accompanied by the chief commanders of the allied troops, and an immense concourse of Italian, German, Spanish, and Swiss nobility and captains. (*b*) These important services were not, however, rendered to him, without such claims for compensation as greatly diminished their value. The Swiss laid him under heavy contributions for their pay, and the pope had already divested his dominions of the important territories of Parma and Piacenza. Unfortunately for the repose of Italy, the young duke was not endowed with vigour and talents to contend with those who had long been exercised in political intrigues, and habituated to violence and plunder; and the state of Milan, which ought to

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Restoration
of Maximilian
Sforza,
duke of Milan.

(*a*) *Guicciard.* lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 7.

(*b*) *Muratori, Annali d'Italia*, vol. x. p. 90.

CHAP. have been the barrier of Italy against the danger-
IX. ous inroads of the French, was debilitated and
A. D. 1512. abridged, at the very time ~~when~~ it should, in
A. Æt. 37. sound policy, have been invigorated and support-
ed by every possible means.

Measures
adopted by
the Medici
to secure
their power.

With the suppression of the fanatical party, formed under the influence of Savonarola, and the restoration of the Medici to Florence, the vivacity and gaiety of the inhabitants returned, and the spectacles and amusements for which that city had formerly been remarkable were revived. Among other methods adopted by the Medici to strengthen their own authority, and conciliate the favour of the populace, was the institution of two companies, or orders of merit. One of these was denominated the order of the diamond, alluding to the *impresa*, or emblem of a diamond ring with three feathers, and the motto, *semper*, adopted by Lorenzo the Magnificent, and now restored by his youngest son, Giuliano, with a view of securing his own influence by recalling the memory of his father. The other order, of which Lorenzo de' Medici, the son of the unfortunate Piero, was considered as the chief, was called the company of the *broncone*, in allusion to the *impresa* of Piero, representing trunks of wood consuming in the midst of flames. (a) This society was chiefly composed of the younger part of the citizens, who from their rank and time of life were judged to be most suitable companions for Lorenzo, upon whom, as the representative of the elder branch of his family, the authority which it had enjoyed in the state

(a) v. *ante*, chap. vii. p. 28.

was expected to devolve. (a) To the members of these societies precedence was given on public occasions, and it was their particular province to preside over the festivals, triumphs, and exhibitions, which now once more enlivened the city of Florence, and which were doubtless intended to turn the attention of the people from the consideration of their new state of political degradation. In compliance with the fashion of the times the cardinal also adopted an emblem, which sufficiently manifested his intention to retain the authority which he had thus, by the labour of so many years, regained in his native place; but in choosing on this occasion the decisive representation of the *giogo*, or yoke, he endeavoured to render it less offensive by the scriptural motto, *Jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve*. "My yoke is easy, and my burthen light." (b) It is however highly probable, that such an unlimited assumption of absolute power as that emblem implies, was not compensated by the language which accompanied it, in the estimation of those inflexible friends to the liberties of their country, many of whom still remained within the city; and who were well aware, that if they were once effectually placed under the yoke, the weight of it must in future depend upon the will of their master.

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(a) Nerli, *Commentarii*, lib. vi. p. 121. Nardi, *Histor. Fior.* lib. vi. p. 158.

(b) *Annirato, Ritratto di Leone X. Opusc.* vol. iii. p. 73. On the return of the cardinal, he received a letter of congratulation from M. Angelo de Castrocaro, who seems to have been a zealous adherent of the family. This letter, not before printed, is given in the Appendix, No. LXVII.

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A. Æt 38.

Conspiracy
against the
Medici.

The return of the Medici to Florence had not been signalized by any act of severity against the adverse party ; yet neither the moderation of the cardinal in this respect, nor the means adopted by him and his family, to gratify the people by public spectacles and amusements, could prevent the dangerous effects of individual dissatisfaction and resentment. Scarcely had the public ferment subsided, than a project was formed for the destruction of the Medici and the restoration of the ancient government, the chief promoter of which was Pietro Paolo Boscoli, a young man of family, whose proficiency in literature had led him to the contemplation of the examples of ancient courage, and inspired him with that enthusiasm for liberty which is of all passions the most noble and the most dangerous. In the Medici, he saw the oppressors of his country ; and whilst he dwelt with admiration on the splendid treachery of Brutus, he avowed his determination to imitate him if another Cassius could be found to second his efforts. Such an associate was soon discovered in Agostino Capponi. Many persons of great reputation and extensive influence secretly favoured the enterprise, and a plan was concerted for the assassination of the obnoxious parties. An accident, occasioned by the negligence of Capponi, prevented however the execution of their project, and not only involved in destruction both himself and his companion, but led to the accusation of many citizens of the first respectability. As Capponi was entering the house of the Pucci, a paper fell from his bosom, which contained the names of such persons as had either engaged in the conspiracy, or were thought by those with whom

it originated likely to favour their cause. This dangerous scroll was immediately communicated to the magistrates. Boscoli and Capponi were apprehended, and on their examination confirmed the suspicions to which the paper had given rise. Among those who appeared to have been implicated in the conspiracy were Cosmo de' Pazzi, archbishop of Florence, Nicolo Valori, the biographer of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the celebrated historian Nicolo Machiavelli, then secretary of the republic, Giovanni Folchi, Piero Orlandini, and many other persons of eminence, all of whom were ordered to be closely confined until their guilt or their innocence might be ascertained by a further inquiry. (a)

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In the midst of the agitation to which this alarming discovery gave rise, the attention of the cardinal de' Medici was suddenly called to a yet more important object, which induced him to quit the city of Florence in the midst of the investigation, and to proceed, with as much expedition as the state of his health would permit, to Rome. This was the death of the supreme pontiff Julius II. which happened on the twenty-first day of February, in the year 1513.

Death of
Julius II.

Notwithstanding the ample successes which, in the latter part of his life, had attended the arms and crowned the designs of Julius II. they were by no means commensurate with the reach of his ambition, and the extent of his views. Not satisfied with having acted the principal part in the expulsion of the French from Italy, he had determined to free that country from all foreign powers,

CHAP. and to model its governments at his own pleasure.

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Hence he certainly meditated hostilities against his ally, the king of Spain, whose sovereignty of Naples was incompatible with his designs. *If heaven be willing*, said he, shaking the staff which supported his aged steps, and trembling with rage, *the Neapolitans shall in a short time have another master.* (a) The late proceedings of the Medici in Florence had, however, given him no slight offence; inasmuch as they had not required his participation or concurrence in the political arrangements of the place, but had secured to themselves a supreme and independent authority. (b) But whilst Julius was immersed in these meditations, he forgot the uncertain tenure by which he held his own existence, and a few days' sickness terminated his extensive projects and laid him to rest. It has been asserted, that he died phrenetic, exclaiming, *Out of Italy, French! Out, Alfonso of Este!* but Muratori conjectures that he retained his reason to the last; (c) and it is indeed highly probable that those expressions, which were considered as the proofs of delirium, were nothing more than the effects of *The ruling passion, strong in death.*

His character and conduct considered.

The foregoing pages have afforded us sufficient opportunities of appreciating the character and talents of Julius II. Bold, enterprising, ambitious, and indefatigable, he neither sought repose himself, nor allowed it to be enjoyed by others. In searching for a vicar of Christ upon earth, it would indeed have been difficult to have found a person

(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 92.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

whose conduct and temper were more directly opposed to the mild spirit of Christianity, and the example of its founder ; but this was not the test by which the conclave judged of the qualifications of a pontiff, who was now no longer expected to seclude himself from the cares of the world in order to attend to the spiritual concerns of his flock. Julius II. is therefore not to be judged by a rule of conduct, which he neither proposed to himself nor was expected to conform to by others. His vigorous and active mind corresponded with the restless spirit of the times, and his good fortune raised him to an eminence from which he looked down on the proudest sovereigns of the earth. His ambition was not, however, the passion of a groveling mind, nor were the advantages which he sought to attain of a temporary or personal nature. To establish the authority of the holy see throughout Europe, to recover the dominions of the church, to expel all foreign powers, or, as they were then called, barbarians, from Italy, and to restore that country to the dominion of its native princes, were the vast objects of his comprehensive mind. These objects he lived in a great degree to accomplish ; and it may well be doubted whether, if he had entered on his career at an earlier period of life, he would not have carried his designs into full effect. In suppressing the vicars of the church and uniting their territories to the holy see, he completed what Alexander VI. had begun ; but without incurring an equal degree of odium to that which has been attached to the memory of his predecessor. The Italian historians have not, however, shewn themselves favourable to his fame ; and Guicciar-

CHAP. **dini asserts, (a) "That if he be considered as a great**
 IX. **man, it is only by those, who having forgotten the**
 A. D. 1513. **right meaning of words, and confused the distinc-**
 A. Æt. 38. **tions of a sound judgment, conceive that it is rather**
the office of a supreme pontiff to add to the domi-
nion of the apostolic see by Christian arms and
Christian blood, than to afford the example of a
well regulated life."

That the martial character of this pontiff, who frequently led his troops in person, tended to diminish the reverence due to the holy see, and like the enormities of Alexander VI. prepared the way for the reformation which speedily followed, has been conjectured by many writers, and seems indeed highly probable. (b) In his private life he is said to have been addicted to the inordinate use of wine, which may account for some of the eccentricities recorded of him ; (c) but it is admitted by all writers that he did not, like too many pontiffs, disgrace his pontificate by dissipating the reve-

(a) *Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 31.*

(b) The life and actions of Julius II. are sarcastically reprehended in the dialogue entitled *Julius exclusus*, in the second volume of the collection of the Pasquillades, p. 125. Julius applies to be admitted into paradise ; but St. Peter not recognizing him, he is obliged to give an account of his transactions in this life. This not satisfying the apostle, he still refuses to admit him, and Julius threatens to besiege and make war upon heaven. Erasmus was suspected of being the author of this attack on the memory of the pontiff : but in a letter to cardinal Campegio, he vindicates himself with great warmth from the accusation, "*Ineptiit quisquis scripsit,*" says he, "*at majore supplicio dignus, quisquis evulgavit.*" *Erasm. Ep. lib. xii. ep. 1.*

(c) "Louis XII. en parlant de Jules II. le designoit souvent par le nom d'yvrogne. L'outrage étoit autant plus sensible, que Jules II. passoit pour le meriter." *Ligue de Camb. i. 221.*

nues and domains of the church among his relations and favourites. With the exception only of the city of Pesaro, the investiture of which, with the consent of the college of cardinals, was granted to his nephew, the duke of Urbino, the conquests of Julius were annexed to the dominions of the church, and he withstood the entreaties of his daughter Felice, the wife of M. Antonio Colonna, who solicited the hat of a cardinal for Guido da Montefeltro, the half-brother of her husband ; having openly declared to her that he did not think him deserving of that rank. Julius was the first pontiff who revived the custom which had long been discontinued by his predecessors, of suffering his beard to extend to its natural length, which he is supposed to have done in order to give additional dignity to his appearance ; but which may with more probability be attributed to his impatient temper and incessant occupations, which left him no time for the usual attentions to his person.

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That Julius was no scholar is asserted on his own authority ; but although he did not devote himself to sedentary occupations, he was not, like Paul II., a persecutor of men of learning. On the contrary, those few ecclesiastics whom he raised to the purple by the suggestions of his own judgment, and without the solicitation of foreign powers, were all men of considerable talents and acquirements. At no time have the professors of literature been sparing of their acknowledgments for the favour of the great ; and Julius II. is the frequent theme of applause in the works of his contemporaries, who devoted themselves to the

His encouragement of
learning.

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cultivation of Latin poetry. (a) Of these some have celebrated his magnanimity, his courage, his promptitude in war, and others his strict administration of justice, and his attention to the arts of peace. In a copy of verses addressed by Valerianus to the pope, on the proficiency made by his nephew Giovanni Francesco della Rovere in the study of the law, that author asserts that not only polite literature, but the severer studies, had begun to assume a new form, and were cultivated under his influence with great success. (b) Nor can it be denied, that during his pontificate, amidst the tumults of war, the depopulation of cities, the ravages of pestilence and of famine, and all those calamities and commotions which agitate and distract the human mind, the great and distinguished characters who were destined to illustrate by their works the more pacific reign of his successor, were principally formed. Already had Bembo distinguished himself by numerous productions

(a) In particular Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, has devoted to the praises of Julius II. several of his Iambics, and other poems, at the close of his works, published by Aldus, 1505. And Lorenzo Parmenio, *Custode* of the Vatican library, has celebrated the actions of this pontiff in a poem, which has lately been published. *Anecd. Rom.* tom. iii. *Tirab.* vol. vi. par. iii. p. 201.

(b) "Juli, maxime Pontifex, benigno
Cui felicia siderum favore
Cedunt omnia, et hoc tibi addiderunt
Fata, uni tibi debita, ut videmus,
Quod servare modum, elegantiamque,
Non tantum studia hæc politiora,
Verum illa asperiora, et exoleta,
Jamdudum incipiunt, novumque leges
Nostro ostendere seculo nitorem."

Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. x. p. 313.

both in the Italian and Latin tongue, which had spread his reputation through the whole extent of Italy. Castiglione had composed his elegant work, to which we have before adverted, and Ariosto had not only formed the design, but made a considerable progress in the execution of his immortal poem.

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Of the favourable disposition of Julius towards men of talents, a decisive instance appears in his conduct towards Giovanni Antonio Flaminio, the learned father of a still more learned son; and who having pronounced an oration before him at Imola in the year 1506, was honoured by him with the most friendly demonstrations of esteem and respect, and invited to take up his residence at Rome. Flaminio excused himself; and the pope, instead of manifesting his displeasure, presented him with fifty gold crowns. Some time afterwards, the bishop of Narni, having occasion to pay a visit to Imola, was ordered by the pope to call upon Flaminio, and to assure him of the continuance of his regard, and of his wish to know in what manner he could give him the most effectual proofs of it. (a) The favour of the pontiff induced Flaminio to address to him a copy of Latin verses, in which the poet encourages him to persevere in his great design of delivering Italy from a foreign yoke, and to crown his glory by becoming the assertor of the liberties of his country. An exhortation so consonant to the disposition and views of the pope was doubtless received with favour, and the stern mind of Julius might

Giovan-Antonio Flaminio.

(a) *Tirab. Storia della Letteratura Ital.* vol. vii. par. i. p. 15.

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Library
formed by
Julius II.

perhaps trace with satisfaction, in the elegant lines of Flaminio, the durable records of his future fame. (*a*)

The Vatican library, which had been begun by Nicholas V., and enlarged by the attention of succeeding pontiffs, derived no great advantage from the patronage of Julius II. But this is not to be attributed so much to his disregard of literature, as to the design which he had formed of collecting a separate library for the use of the Roman pontiffs, which was not to owe its importance to the number, so much as to the value of the books and manuscripts of which it was to be composed. It was also intended that the splendor of this collection should be enhanced by works in painting and sculpture by the most distinguished artists of the time; but the death of the pope prevented in all probability the completion of the plan; and as no such distinct collection has been adverted to in later times, it may justly be conjectured that it has been united with that of the Vatican. In a letter (*b*) of Bembo to the pope, written only a few days

(*a*) Appendix, No. LXVIII. Many further particulars illustrative of the character and conduct of Julius II. are given by Count Bossi, (*Ital. ed.* vol. iii. pp. 187, 222,) and by Mr. Henke, (*Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 28, 4to. &c.).

(*b*) PIETRO BEMBO TO JULIUS II.

Bembi Ep. Fum. liv. v. cp. viii. in op. tom. iv.

“ IN the acquisition of the volume lately sent to you from Dacia, written in beautiful characters, but such as are in our days unintelligible, I perceive an additional instance of the perpetual good fortune which has always attended you, and which, whilst in the administration of public affairs, and the direction of the concerns of the universe, it has enabled you to surpass the expectations of all men, has never failed to add to your reputation,

before his death, this library is particularly mentioned; and from the same letter we learn some

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even in matters of less importance. For after you had intrusted this book to me, that I might endeavour to decypher the characters, and inform you of the result, and I had begun to turn over and carefully to inspect its pages, I could not help entertaining more confident hopes of success in my undertaking from the circumstance of its being enjoined by you, than from the facility of the task, which appeared indeed impracticable, or from my own industry. In the course of a minute examination of the whole manuscript, I observed at the foot of one of the pages, a line written in common letters, but almost erased and obliterated, from which I collected that the volume was written in ancient notes or characters, such as were used by those persons who were denominated notaries; and that the work itself was a portion of the commentary of Hyginus, *de Syderibus*. On discovering this line, it immediately occurred to me that this was the Ciceronian method of writing; for I recollected that Plutarch has informed us, that the profession of those who were called notaries took its origin from Cicero, who had invented a series of marks, each of which represented a combination of letters, and that he had instructed his copyists in this art, who were thus enabled to note down during the time of delivery, in a small compass, and in a legible form, for his use, the speeches of any of the senators which he wished to preserve. It was by this means, Plutarch adds, that the oration which Cato pronounced against the Catiline conspirators in opposition to the opinion of Cæsar, had been handed down to his time. I also recollect that not only Plutarch, but Valerius Martial has remarked, that the ancients were accustomed to make use of notaries for the sake of expedition in writing, and his celebrated verses on this subject yet remain. Ausonius likewise commemorates in his verses a boy, who with the aid of a few characters took down a long discourse during the time of recitation. Prudentius, in a poem on the martyrdom of Cassianus, has recorded that the latter had established an academy, in which children were taught the use of these characters. Having therefore compared another copy of Hyginus, written in our usual manner, with this Dacian manuscript, I have been enabled to explain the sense and signification of many of these marks, the meaning of which is changed, not only by the variation of the marks themselves, but in some degree even by the punctuation; although in

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curious particulars, respecting not only the attention of that pontiff to the promotion of literature,

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such a definite and regular form, that if any one would take the trouble, it does not appear to me very difficult to reduce it to a system, and once more restore it to general use. This discovery afforded me great pleasure, as I conceived I should give you complete satisfaction on this head ; and this pleasure was in some degree increased by the consideration, that although several distinguished and learned men of the present times had, at your desire, endeavoured to explain this work, their attempts had been wholly fruitless. As a favourable opportunity thus offers itself of extending your fame in the literary world, and securing the applause of future times, I entreat you not to neglect it, but to devote some portion of your extensive talents, which are sufficiently capacious to embrace and comprehend all subjects, in recovering this mode of writing, by intrusting it to skilful printers, if such are to be found, as they certainly are, to be by them made public. For what indeed can be more honourable to your reputation, or more advantageous to the studies of the learned, than to restore, by your pious attention, an art invented by Cicero, and long held in great esteem for its acknowledged utility : but which, through the injuries of time, has for a long course of years been wholly lost. Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, are commended for their diligence in collecting books for the celebrated libraries which they formed ; and it has always been considered as praise-worthy, even in the greatest characters, and in those possessed of supreme authority, to promote literary studies, and to supply materials for those talents which are devoted to the cultivation of the liberal arts. This diligence you have yourself emulated, in having added another library to the celebrated collection formed by your predecessors in the Vatican ; not indeed distinguished by the number of its volumes, but by their high value and perfect preservation ; and rendered much more pleasant for the use of the pontiffs, by the commodiousness and beauty of the place, and the elegant ornaments of statues, pictures, and mirrors, with which it is embellished. For my own part, I confess I do not see in what manner you can confer greater ornament, greater elegance, or even greater authority, on this, your library, than by recalling to light the invention of this almost divine man, and restoring his art of writing. For, although it has

but the restoration of the long lost art of abbreviated or short-hand writing, of which Bembo may be considered as the revivor in modern times.

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always been your character not to devote your attention to any objects but those which you have endeavoured with such constant perseverance, incredible expense, and immense labours and danger, to accomplish, and by which the Roman republic intrusted to your care might maintain its supreme authority, yet it is due from your prudence, and your piety, not to neglect that which relates to the study of literature ; for in those studies are involved many things of no inconsiderable importance to the ornament and convenience of human life.

CHAP. X.

1513.

ASSEMBLY of the Conclave—Mode of electing a pope—Election of the cardinal de' Medici—Motives of the choice of the conclave—Reason of his taking the name of Leo X.—His coronation—Procession to the Lateran—Embassy from Florence—Leo pardons the Florentine conspirators—Recals Pietro Soderini—Appoints Bembo and Sadoleti his secretaries—Resolves to establish the peace of Europe—Louis XII. threatens the state of Milan—Treaty of Blois—Leo endeavours to dissuade Louis XII.—Opposes him and forms with Henry VIII. the treaty of Mechlin—Subsidizes the Swiss—Louis XII. attacks the Milanese—Battle of Novara, and defeat of the French—Leo recommends lenient measures—Expulsion of the French from Italy—Henry VIII. invades France—Battle of the Spurs—The king of Scotland attacks England—Battle of Flodden—Congratulatory letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII.—Treaty of Dijon—Battle of Vicenza—The emperor elect and the Venetians submit their differences to Leo X.—Leo renews the meetings of the Lateran council—Nominates four cardinals—Lorenzo de' Medici assumes the government of Florence—Giuliano de' Medici admitted a Roman citizen—Leo pardons the refractory cardinals—Humiliation and absolution of Louis XII.

CHAPTER X.

ON the third day of March, 1513, the cardinals who happened to be then in Rome entered the church of S. Andrea, where the mass of the *Spirito Santo* was celebrated by the cardinal of Strigonia; after which the bishop of Castello, having made the usual oration *de pontifice elegendo*, they went in procession to the conclave to proceed to the choice of a pope. It was not until the sixth day of the same month that the cardinal de' Medici arrived in Rome and joined his brethren. The whole number of cardinals who were assembled on this occasion was twenty-five. (a)

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Assembly
of the con-
clave.

There are four different modes of electing the supreme pontiff; by *inspiration*, by *compromise*, by *scrutiny*, and by *access*. (b)

Mode of
electing a
pope.

An election by *inspiration* is effected by several of the cardinals calling aloud, as by a sudden impulse, the name of the person whom they wish to raise to the pontifical dignity. This method of resorting to the pretext of supernatural aid is seldom relied on, except when all human means have failed of success. If however a powerful party can be raised, and their efforts happen to be strongly se-

By inspira-
tion.

(a) *Conclave di Leone X. ap. Conclavi de' Pontefici Rom.* vol. i. pp. 171, 182.

(b) *Ceremonial de Rome, in Supplem, au corps diplomatique*, tom. v. p. 46, &c.

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By com-
promise.

conded, the rest of the cardinals, unwilling to distinguish themselves by a decided opposition, or to be the last in expressing their consent, hasten to concur in the choice.

It is called an election by *compromise* when the cardinals, not being able to determine on a proper person, agree to submit the choice of a pontiff to one or more of their own body, nominated for that purpose. It was thus that John XXII. after having obtained the solemn assent of the whole college to abide by his decision, assumed to himself the pontificate; an event which induced the cardinals not to intrust this power in future to any of their number, without such restrictions as might effectually prevent the recurrence of a similar event.

By scruti-
ny.

In choosing a pope by *scrutiny*, the cardinals each write their own name, with that of the person whom they wish to recommend, on a *billet*, or ticket; which they afterwards place, with many ceremonies and genuflexions, in a large and highly ornamented chalice, on the altar of the chapel in which they assemble. The tickets are then taken out by officers appointed from their own body for that purpose, and the number is carefully compared with that of the persons present; after which, if it appear that any one of the cardinals has two-thirds of the votes in his favour, he is declared to be canonically elected pope. When, however, after repeated trials, this does not occur, a new proceeding takes place, which is called election by *access*; in which any cardinal may accede to the vote of another by an alteration of his ticket in a prescribed form. When by these means the choice

By access.

of a pontiff is effected, the tickets are prudently committed to the flames, to prevent all pretexts for further inquiry. (a)

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The Cardinal de' Medici elected pope.

After a deliberation which lasted for the space of seven days, the choice of the conclave fell upon the cardinal de' Medici, who was elected by scrutiny. (b) As he was at this time the chief cardinal deacon, it was his office to examine the votes, in which he conducted himself with great modesty ; and when he had the happiness to find that he was himself the fortunate candidate, not the least alteration was perceived in his countenance. (c) He immediately received the adoration of the cardinals, whom he embraced and kissed in return, They then requested to know what name he would assume ; to which he replied that he should submit it to the sacred college ; but on being again entreated to make his choice, he answered that among his other vain cogitations, he had at some times thought, that if he should ever be called to the pontifical chair, he would take the name of LEO THE TENTH ; which if agreeable to them he would now adopt ; but if not, he would alter his intention. On this many of the cardinals expressed their approbation, alleging that if they had been elected they would have made the same choice. (d) One of the windows of the conclave

He assumes the name of LEO X.

(a) *Ceremonial de Rome, in Supplem. au corps diplomatique, tom. v. pp. 48, 49.*

(b) *Conclave di Leone X. p. 178.*

(c) *Par. de Grassis ap. Not. et Extraits des MSS. du Roi, ii. 579.*

(d) "Interim petimus quo nomine vellet in Apostolatu vocari, et dixit non curare, sed remittere ad dispositionem collegii. Ipsi autem cardinales hortabantur, ut ipse indicaret quo nomine vellet vocari ; et dixit quod alias, inter vanas suas cogitationes, cogitaverat, quod si unquam Pontifex esset, vellet vocari Leo X. et

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which had been closed up as usual on such occasions, was then broken down, and the cardinal Alessandro Farnese announced to the people in the usual form, the election of a pope and the name which he had assumed. (a) He was then placed in the pontifical chair and carried to the church of S. Pietro, accompanied by the whole conclave and the ecclesiastics of the city, amidst the rejoicings of the people and the discharge of cannon; the clergy singing as they passed *T'e Deum laudamus*; and being brought before the great altar he was there enthroned. (b)

Motives of
the choice
of the col-
lege.

The causes which determined the college in their choice of a pontiff on this occasion rest chiefly on conjecture. It is however sufficiently understood, that whilst the elder members inclined towards the party of the cardinal Alborese, who had on one examination thirteen votes in his favour, (c) the younger, and particularly those of royal and noble families, adhered to that of the cardinal de' Medici. (d) Of the elder members, nunc, si iis placeret, sic vocaretur, sin autem aliter ut iis placeret: et multi comprobaverunt dicentes quod si ipsi electi fuissent, eo nomine vocari voluissent, et sic conclusum fuit, cum tanto plausu populi, ut credibile vix sit." *Paris Grassius, ap. Fabr. vita Leon. X. adnot. p. 269.*

(a) "GAUDIUM MAGNUM NUNTIO VOBIS; PAPAM HABEMUS, REVERENDISSIMUM DOMINUM JOANNEM DE MEDICIS, DIACONUM CARDINALEM SANCTE MARIE IN DOMENICA; QUI VOCATUR LEO DECIMUS."

On this occasion, Giovan-Francesco Superchio, better known by the name of Philomusus, addressed to the pontiff a poem, entitled, *SYLVA ET EXULTATIO IN CREATIONE PONT. MAX. LEONIS DECIMI*, which will be found in the Appendix, No. LXIX.

(b) *Conclave di Leone X. p. 177.*

(c) *Jovius, in vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 55.*

(d) "Alle 22 hore in circa, si abboccarono insieme San Giorgio

no one possessed greater influence than Raffaello Riario, nephew of Sixtus IV. whom the cardinal de' Medici found means, after several days deliberations, to attach to his interests, and whose favour probably secured his election. From the narration of Jovius it appears, that the cardinal de' Medici was at this time seriously indisposed, from an abscess, the breaking of which diffused through the whole conclave such an intolerable stench, that the cardinals, thinking it impossible that he could long survive, determined to elect him pope; (a) but this story is rejected by a more judicious writer, (b) as having arisen from the misrepresentations of those, who have insinuated that the irregularities of his past life had subjected him to this disorder. It is however certain, that at the time when the cardinal quitted Florence, he was so much indisposed, as to be obliged to be carried by slow stages in a litter to Rome, and that on the day after his arrival a sur-

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(Riario) e Medici, nella Sala grande, dove pubblicamente ragionarono più d'un hora; però da nessuno fù inteso di che cosa trattassero. Il che visto da altri cardinali, subito giudicarono, che'l Pontificato si trattasse per uno di loro, et cominciarono molti d' andare attorno, per mettere discordie, acciò in nessuno di loro si concludesse; ed essendosi stati in questo bisbiglio un gran pezzo, finalmente ritrovandosi il negotio ben preparato, fu per tutto il Conclave publicato Papa il cardinale de' Medici." *Concl. di Leone X.* p. 177.

(a) "Fuere qui existimarent vel ob id Senioris ad ferenda suffragia facilius accessisse, quod pridie disrupto eo abscessu qui se-dem occuparet, tanto foetore ex profluenti sania totum comitium implevisset, ut tanquam a mortifera tabe infectus, non diu supervicturus esse vel medicorum testimonio crederetur." *Jov. in vita Leon. X.* lib. iii. p. 56.

(b) *Fabron. in vita Leonis X.* p. 60.

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geon was admitted into the conclave, who performed an operation on his person, after which the cardinals would not permit the surgeon, notwithstanding his entreaties, to quit the place; (a) but the certainty of this fact by no means authorizes those inferences which some have attempted to draw from it. (b) The real motives of the choice of the college may with more candour, and perhaps with more truth, be sought for in the high estimation in which the name of Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of the cardinal, was yet held

(a) "In questo tempo entrò in conclave un Chirurgo, chiamato *Giacomo di Brescia*, ad istanza del cardinal di Medici, acciò gli tagliasse una postema; e dopo entrato non vollero che n'uscisse, con tutto che n'havesse fatta grand' istanza." *Conclav. di Leone X.* p. 172.

(b) "On pretend qu'il n'y eut rien qui contribuât davantage à l'élever à la papauté, que les blessures qu'il avoit reçues dans les combats vénériens." *Bayle, Dict. Hist. in art. Leon. X.* This insinuation is founded by Bayle on the equivocal authority of Varillas, *Anecdotes de Florence*, lib. vi. p. 235; an author whose falsehoods and absurdities he has himself on other occasions sufficiently exposed; and on the opinion of Seckendorff, *Comm. de Luth.* lib. i. sec. xlvii. p. 190. But even the narrative of Varillas will not justify the licentious terms in which Bayle has expressed himself on this occasion. This he indeed in some degree confesses: "J'observe que ce n'est que par *des conséquences qui ne sont pas absolument nécessaires*, que l'on peut trouver, dans les paroles de M. Varillas, les sens que j'ai rapporté, et que *M. de Seckendorff leur donne*." To which acknowledgment I must further add, that even M. de Seckendorff, although a protestant writer, and particularly hostile to the character of Leo X. has *not given* to the passage of Varillas, the sense for which Bayle contends, but merely informs us, that Leo X. "*laborabat foedissimo ulcere in inguine*," without attempting to account further for the cause of it. It appears from Jovius to have been an abscess; a disease with which the pontiff was frequently afflicted during the remainder of his life.

throughout Italy; in the decorum and respectability of his own life and manners; and in the remembrance of the services which he had rendered to the church, and of the dangers which he had sustained in the defence of her rights. At this important juncture the cardinal de' Medici is also said to have owed great obligations to Bernardo da Bibbiena, whom he fortunately selected as his conclavist, and who, by his dexterous management and artful representations, removed the opposition of the cardinal Soderini, brother of the late Gonfaloniere of Florence, and others, who were at first adverse to the elevation of his patron. (a) But whatever were the motives which led to that event, it is on all hands agreed, that his elevation was not disgraced by that shameless traffic and open prostitution of the favours and emoluments of the church, which had been so usual on similar occasions, (b) and Leo ascended the

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(a) " Il cardinal Soderini era il più destro, è il più capace di frastornare questa elezione. Ma il Bibbiena, conoscendo il suo debole, l'attacò in quello, e gli diede speranza di ristabilire il fratello; gli propose la riunione co' Medici per mezzo del matrimonio della nipote del Soderini col nipote del cardinale. Così dunque date per tutte le parti le sicurtà, fu molto più incalorito il partito de' giovani." *Bandin. Il Bibbiena*, p. 14.

(b) " Sentì di questa elettione quasi tutta la Cristianità grandissimo piacere, persuadendosi universalmente gli huomini, che havesse a essere rarissimo Pontifice, per la chiara memoria del valore paterno, et per la fama che risonava per tutto della sua liberalità et benignità; *stimato casto*, e di perfetti costumi; e sperandosi che a l' esempio del padre, havesse a essere amatore de' letterati et di tutti gl' ingegni illustri. La quale aspettatione accresceva l'essere stata fatta l' elettione *senza simonia o sospetto di macula alcuna*." *Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 32.*

Mr. Henke has also cited a letter from Count Alberto Pio of Carpi, (*v. ante*, vol. i. p. 115,) one of the Italian nobility who was

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pontifical throne without any imputation on his character for integrity, even by that propensity to scandal by which the city of Rome has always been distinguished. The populace would not indeed relinquish their privilege of mingling their satire with their joy on this occasion; (a) but when satire attaches only to slight imperfections, it becomes the surest proof that there are no glaring defects to provoke the severity of animadversion.

In assuming the name of Leo X. (b) it has been

present at the elevation of Leo X., giving a full account of the circumstances attending that ceremony, with his opinion of the character of the new pontiff, which was justified in a very remarkable manner by subsequent events; his words are: “*Opinione mea pontifex maximus potius erit mitis, ut agnus, quam ferox, ut Leo; pacis erit cultor magis quam belli; erit fidei promissorumque servator religiosus; amicus Gallorum certe non erit; sed nec acer hostis, ut fuerat Julius; gloriam et honorem non negliget; favebit literatis, hoc est, oratoribus, poetis, et musicis; ædificia construet; rem sacram religiose peraget, nec ditionem ecclesiasticam negliget; bellum non suscipiet, nisi plurimum lacesitus et valde coactus, excepto bello contra infideles; si quid incipiet illud perficere conabitur; permodestus erit, et valde facilis; hæc de eo hucusque conjectari possunt; tamen homines mutant in horas, et ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.*” *Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 51.*

(a) An instance of this may be found in the interpretation said to have been given to a mutilated inscription in the church of the Vatican, in which the name of Nicholas V. had been obliterated, and the characters of the year only remained, M.CCCC.XL. which it seems were interpreted, in allusion to the defect in the pontiff's sight. MULTI CAECI CARDINALES CREAVERE CAECUM DECIMUM LEONEM. *v. Fabr. Adnot. p. 270.*

(b) The custom of changing the name of the Roman pontiff is said to have arisen from Sergius II. in the year 844. “*Sunt qui Sergium primo quidem Os porci appellatum fuisse dicant, et ob turpitudinem cognomenti Sergii nomen sumpsisse; eamque consuetudinem ad nostros manasse; ut qui pontifices crearentur, suo-*

supposed by some, that the cardinal de' Medici meant to allude to the insignia of his native place, and by others, that he intended to verify the dreams of his mother; (a) but as he was not remarkable for a superstitious adherence to the expiring follies of the age, we may rather assent to those writers, who suppose that he intended to allude to the courage and magnanimity with which he was resolved to execute the high office to which he had been called. It may also be observed, that it had been the custom of many of his predecessors to adopt appellations of a warlike nature; and after an Alexander and a Julius, the name of Leo, already sanctioned by a long succession of pontiffs, if not dreaded by his enemies, might at least seem formidable to his subjects; (b) but it is yet more probable that he was induced to this choice by the consideration, that all his predecessors of the same name had been eminently distinguished by their virtues, their talents, or their good fortune, (c) and he therefore thought it not unadvisa-

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Reason of
his taking
the name
of Leo X.

rum omisso majorum nomine, sibi indicent, licet ab omnibus non sit observatum." *Platina, in vita Sergii.*

(a) "Non defuere qui dicerent, Claricem matrem, pleno jam utero Leonem ingentis magnitudinis, et miræ lenitatis, in Reparatæ templo Florentiæ omnium maximo se parere, sine gemitu somniasse. Quod postea somnium ex fabulis nutricum quum puorum ingeniis inhæsisset, accipiendo nomini causam haud dubie præbuerit." *Jov. in vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 56.*

(b) *Leonis decimi* nomen sibi desumpsit; utpote qui propter innatam excelso regioque animo clementiæ virtutem, non expresso quidem titulo, sed erudita allusione *Magnanimi* cognomen tum affectaret; duorum superiorum secutus exemplum, quibus *Alexandri* et *Julii* augustissima nomina placuissent." *Jov. ut sup.*

(c) This is the opinion of Brandolini, in his Dialogue entitled *Leo*, p. 112. "Neque enim inditum sibi nomen, a nostra me-

CHAP. X. ble to revive a name, which, although so celebrated, had not occurred in the annals of the church

A. D. 1513. for more than four centuries. (a)

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His corona-
tion.

As the pope, before his elevation, was only a cardinal deacon, it was necessary to admit him into priest's orders; which ceremony was performed on the fifteenth day of March, four days after his election. He was consecrated bishop on the seventeenth, and crowned on the nineteenth of the same month. On this occasion a large platform was erected on the steps of the church of S. Pietro, with columns, and a cornice in imitation of marble, on which was inscribed in letters of gold, **LEONI X. PONT. MAX. LITERATORUM PRÆSIDIO, AC BONITATIS FAUTORI.** On the morning of the

moria, nedum seculo remotissimum, urbis Florentiæ insignibus, ut vulgus existimat; sed integritati, mansuetudini, hospitalitati, prudentiæ, liberalitati, quibus quidem animi atque ingenii dotibus novem reliqui ejusdem nominis Pontifices fuisse præditi memorantur, jure optimo tribuendum puto." And this idea is confirmed by Erasmus, who, in one of his letters addressed to Leo X. has briefly enumerated the merits of his predecessors of the same name: "Proinde quidquid virtutum in singulis *Leonibus* excelluit, id totum expectamus a **LEONE DECIMO**. *Primi Leonis* felicem auctoritatem; *secundi*, cruditam pietatem et sacræ musices studium; *terti*, præter salutarem eloquentiam, animum quoque utramque ad fortunam infractum; *quarti*, simplicem illam, et, a Christo laudatam, prudentiam; *quinti*, sanctam tolerantiam; *sexti*, pacis ubique sarcientiæ studium; *septimi*, cælo dignum sanctimonium; *octavi*, integritatem; *noni*, effusam in omnes benignitatem. Hæc inquam omnia nobis promittunt, non solum nominum ipsorum haudquam contemnenda auguria, verum etiam hæc quæ jam abs te præstita videmus, quæ videmus apparari." *Erasm. Ep. lib. ii. ep. 1.* This idea is further extended in the Latin poem of Zaccaria Ferreri, of Vicenza, on the elevation of Leo X. *Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. vol. iv. p. 270.*

(a) "Nam quatuor secula cum dimidio et amplius, a creatione Leonis IX. tunc lapsa erant." *Brandol. Leo. in not. 74, p. 112.*

day appointed, Leo proceeded to the church of S. Pietro, accompanied by the college of cardinals and dignified ecclesiastics, where he was habited as a priest for the celebration of mass. Thence he went to the great altar, preceded by the master of the ceremonies with a reed in each hand, to the summit of one of which was attached a lighted candle, and to the other a bunch of tow. This officer kneeling before the pope, set fire to the tow; at the same time repeating the words, *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi*. Having celebrated his first mass, the pope was conducted to the steps of the church, where the tiara or triple crown was placed on his head by the cardinal Farnese and the cardinal of Aragon; after which, having conferred his benediction on all present, he returned to the apostolic palace.

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On the coronation of a new pontiff it is customary for him to grant to the cardinals whatever they may request. Such an unlimited privilege certainly presumes no small share of discretion in those who avail themselves of it; but on this occasion the well-known generosity of the pontiff had raised the hopes of the college beyond all reasonable bounds, and Leo could not avoid expressing his astonishment at the number and nature of the demands which were made upon him. "Take my tiara, rather," said he to the cardinals, smiling, "and then you may agree among yourselves, as so many popes, to divide things as you may think proper." (a)

(a) "Potius acciperent suam tiaram, et ipsi pontifices facti, concederent aut caperent illud quod volebant." *P. de Grassis MS. 51. ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi*, vol. ii. p. 579.

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His predecessor Julius II. had conducted himself in the public offices of devotion with great negligence, and had even refused to expose his feet for adoration in the form of a cross, on Good Friday; for which his master of the ceremonies has assigned a singular, if not a sufficient cause. (a) It had also been observed, that in performing the ceremonial of washing the feet of the poor on Holy Thursday, Julius had only placed his thumbs across and kissed them. Leo had at least more policy, if not more devotion. He performed the former rite with his feet exposed, and hesitated not to kiss those of the poor; observing at the same time, that this mysterious act of piety ought not to be evaded by a pretext. (b)

Procession
to the La-
teran.

The more splendid ceremony of the procession of the pope to take possession of the Lateran see, was postponed until the eleventh day of April, being the anniversary of the day on which he had been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, and already consecrated in the Roman calendar to S. Leo the great. That the contrast between his past misfortunes and his present prosperity might not be unobserved, he also chose to be mounted during his procession on a favourite white steed, which had borne him on that occasion, and which from this day he released from all further ser-

(a) "Quia totus erat ex morbo gallico alterosus." *P. de Grass. MS. 61. ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi, vol. ii. p. 579.*

(b) "Inde ad Aulam ascensum, et pro lotionem pedum pauperum, quæ facta est ad unguem, prout in meo ordinario, nisi quod papa non voluit suos digitos pollices in forma crucis super pedibus pauperum positos osculari, ut alii pontifices facere consueverant, præsertim Julius II. sed ipsos pedes totus osculabatur, dicens, quod illud mysterium non fecte fieri debet." *P. de Grass. MS. inedit.*

vice. (a) This spectacle, at all times sufficiently superb, was now rendered much more magnificent by the desire of the citizens to gratify that predilection for grandeur and for elegance, which the new pontiff was well known to possess. (b) All the nobility then in Rome, with many of the independent sovereigns of Italy, and the ambassadors of most of the European states, contributed to give dignity and importance to the ceremony. Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, no longer a rebel to the church, made a journey to Rome to be present on this occasion, and had the honour of assisting the pontiff in mounting his horse. His formidable adversary, Francesco Maria, duke of Urbino, joined in the same procession, and bore the pontifical standard. The counts of Pitigliano, of Anguillara, of Carpi, and of Camerino, with other subordinate princes, were also present; but the most striking, and perhaps the most pleasing spectacle to the Roman people, was that of the chiefs of the two powerful families of the Orsini and the Colonna, whose dissensions had for ages disturbed the repose of the Roman state, accompanying each

(a) *P. de Grass. MS. ap. not. des MSS du Roi*, vol. ii. p. 580.

(b) Giovan-Giacomo Penni, a Florentine physician, who was present in Rome on this occasion, has given a very circumstantial account of this splendid ceremonial, which he inscribed to Contessina de' Medici, the wife of Piero Ridolfi, and sister of the pontiff. To this piece, which was printed at Rome in the year 1513, I have been indebted for many of the preceding particulars, and as it is now of extreme rarity, and may serve to give an idea of the abilities and invention of the Roman artists, and of the great preparations and expense which attended this exhibition, I have given it, from a copy preserved in the Vatican library, in the Appendix, No. LXX.

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other in token of perpetual reconciliation. Giulio de' Medici bore the standard of the knights of Rhodes, whose society, however, he from this day abandoned to devote himself to the more lucrative offices of the church. The streets and squares through which the pontiff had to pass were spread with tapestry, and strewed with flowers; the arms and emblems of the Medici were emblazoned with every variety of ornament; the most beautiful works in painting and sculpture, of which the city could boast, or which the ingenuity and talents of the Roman artists could produce, were exultingly displayed; and triumphal arches with appropriate inscriptions gave to the whole the appearance rather of the return of a Roman hero from conquest, than of the pacific procession of an ecclesiastical prince. On the arrival of the pope at the castle of S. Angelo, he was met by the Jews then resident in Rome, who presented to him the volume of their law, and requested the confirmation of their privileges. Receiving from them the book, he opened it and appeared to read; then letting it suddenly fall, he replied, *we confirm, but we do not assent*; (a) and proceeded on his way. With this state the pontiff arrived, amidst the acclamations of the populace, (b) at the church of S. Giovanni Laterano, at the great door of which was placed, under a portico, a marble chair, to which he was conducted by the prior and canons of the Lateran. Three cardinals then approached

(a) *Confirmamus, sed non consentimus.* Penni, in *app. ut sup.*

(b) LEONE, LEONE, PALLE, PALLE; the name of the pontiff, and the arms of the Medici. Penni, in *app.*

and raised him from his seat, chaunting at the same time, *He raiseth the poor from the dust, &c.* (a)

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This ceremony, which has given rise to various conjectures, may be considered as intended to represent the inferiority of the former condition of the pontiff, in comparison with his present elevation, as that of the burning of the tow on his coronation is figurative of the instability of worldly grandeur. He then entered the church, and having prostrated himself before the high altar, received the insignia of his dignity. Thence he passed to the chapel of S. Silvestro, where the nobility were admitted to the honour of kissing his feet. To each of the bishops he distributed a silver medal, and to each of the cardinals two of silver and one of gold. The prelates here congratulated him on his assumption, and, more favoured than his secular attendants, were allowed to kiss his hand. Having rested here for the space of an hour, he was accompanied to the palace or hall of Constantine, where he took a formal possession of his dominions, and passed the remainder of the day. In the evening he returned to the Vatican, with the same state and attendants with which he had quitted it in the morning. (b)

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The opinion which the public had already formed of the character of the new pontiff, was strongly expressed in the numerous inscriptions which were displayed on the triumphal arches, and the pa-

(a) *Suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigit pauperem.* Not. des MSS. du Roi, vol. i. p. 179. v. ante, vol. i. chap. iii. p. 130.

(b) This event afforded Janus Vitalis of Castello, and other writers of Latin poetry, an opportunity of celebrating the virtues of the new pontiff, and of expressing the expectations already formed of his pontificate. v. Appendix, No. LXXI.

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laces of eminent individuals. Of these, some alluded to his well-known love of peace, (*a*) to the vicissitudes of his former life, (*b*) to his attention to the encouragement of literature, (*c*) to the acknowledged decorum of his private life and morals, (*d*) to the discriminating lenity and moderation which he had already displayed, (*e*) and to his disposition to promote the public happiness. (*f*) Agostino Chisi, a rich merchant from Siena, and a great promoter of the arts, adopted on this occasion an inscription which refers with some degree of freedom to the preceding pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II: (*g*)

“ Once Venus ruled ; next Mars usurped the throne ;
Now Pallas calls these favour'd seats her own.”

No sooner had Agostino displayed his device, than Antonio da S. Marano, a goldsmith in his neighbourhood, exhibited an elegant statue of Venus, under which he inscribed, in allusion to the former lines, (*h*)

“ Once Mars prevail'd ; now Pallas reigns ;
But Venus yet her power retains.”

The exultation which took place at Rome on the elevation of Leo. X. was most cordially re-

(*a*) LEONI X. PACIS RESTITUTORI FELICISSIMO.

(*b*) VIRTUTIS ALUMNO FORTUNEQUE DOMATORI.

(*c*) LEONI X. PACIS ATQUE ARTIUM LAUDATORI.

(*d*) VIVE PIE, UT SOLITUS ; VIVE DIU, UT MERITUS.

(*e*) LEO X. PONT. MAX. VINCENDO SEIPSUM OMNIA SUPERAVIT.

SUPPLICES GENEROSE EXAUDIO—IN SUPERBOS IRAM EXERCEO.

(*f*) VOTA DEUM LEO UT ABSOLVAS HOMINUMQUE SECUNDES.

(*g*) OLIM HABUIT CYPRIS SUA TEMPORA ; TEMPORA MAVORS

OLIM HABUIT ; NUNC SUA TEMPORA PALLAS HABET.

(*h*) MARS FUIT ; EST PALLAS ; CYPRIA SEMPER ERO.

echoed from his native city, where the Medici had now gained a complete ascendancy, and where even their enemies had relinquished their hostility, in the hopes of obtaining at length that peace and security to which they had so long been strangers. (a) An embassy of the most respectable inhabitants was despatched to congratulate the pontiff, and as it became necessary to select some person of rank and learning to address his holiness, the choice of the citizens fell upon Bernardo Rucellai, who, from his elegant historical tracts in the Latin tongue, was justly considered as another Sallust, and from the great authority which he enjoyed among his fellow citizens, and the near connexion in which he stood to the pope, was regarded as the most proper person for that honourable office. Bernardo, however, declined the task, alleging as a reason, the infirm state of his health; but his refusal gave no small displeasure to the citizens of Florence, who suspected that his indisposition was feigned, for the purpose of excusing himself from an undertaking which did not accord with his feelings. Nor is it indeed improbable that this illustrious citizen felt an insuperable reluctance to the expressing his congratulations on an event, which he perhaps foresaw would confirm the subjugation of his country. (b) The office of orator devolved there-

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Embassy
from Flo
rence.

(a) Of the singular ingenuity, and extraordinary splendor of the exhibitions at Florence on this occasion, a particular account is preserved by Vasari, in his life of Jacopo da Pontormo, *Vite de' Pittori*, vol. ii. p. 645. The preparation of these spectacles employed the talents of the first artists and most distinguished scholars of the time.

(b) *v. Life of Lor de' Med.* vol. ii. p. 152, note (a), 4to. ed.

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fore on Pietro Guicciardini, who acquitted himself with distinguished ability; and the reply of the pontiff was admired, not only for its promptitude and elegance, but for its kind and conciliatory tendency, and the assurances which he gave to his countrymen of his paternal care and regard. A deputation soon afterwards arrived from the city of Siena, and the time had been fixed upon for the introduction of the delegates to the pope. The cardinals were already met, but the delegates not making their appearance, several messengers were despatched to hasten them. Arriving at length, they apologized for their delay, by alleging, that they were Siennese, and followed the customs of Siena. (a) Their public orator Giovan Antonio Saraceno, then began a tiresome and absurd oration, to which Leo replied in so appropriate and jocular a style, as to delight his attendants without offending even the deputies themselves. In fact, the pontiff possessed in an eminent degree, that versatility of talent which accommodates itself to every occasion, and that discretion which points out the proper season to make use of it. As many other ambassadors were expected from the different states of Christendom, Leo inquired from his master of the ceremonies whether he ought on all occasions to reply in person, or whether he might not with propriety delegate the task to another. From the researches made by that officer on this important

(a) "Se esse Senenses et more Senensi fecisse," which some of the lively attendants on the pontiff interpreted, "Se esse fatuos et more fatuo fecisse." *Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Fabron. in vita Leon. note 24.*

subject, it appeared that Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) was the first pontiff who had set the example of always answering for himself on public occasions. Paul II. was desirous of continuing this custom, but his memory frequently betrayed him. Sixtus IV. always spoke in person, and acquitted himself with credit. Innocent VIII. never attempted to deliver his sentiments in public. Whenever Julius II. was expected to make a reply, he pretended to be suddenly taken ill, and to be deprived of all memory, insomuch, that it became necessary for his master of the ceremonies to rouse him, as it were, from the dead, and to remind him of what was passing before him. The result of these inquiries was, that in a first audience it would be proper for the pope himself to reply, but in few words, and that his secretary should be ready, if it became necessary, to enter more fully into the subject. It was afterwards settled, that the pope in replying to a sovereign prince should speak for himself, but that in replying to an ambassador, he might employ a substitute. (a)

A very favourable opportunity of manifesting those virtues for which he had already been so highly commended, was afforded to the new pontiff by the affairs of Florence, where the magistrates, after his departure for Rome, had proceeded in examining into the conspiracy of Boscoli and Capponi, and after having obtained from those two leaders a confession of their crimes, had sentenced them to decapitation. Of the other con-

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Leo pardons the conspirators at Florence.

(a) *Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Not. des. MSS. du Roi*, vol. ii. p. 581.

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spirators, Nicolo Machiavelli had been remanded into custody at Florence, and Nicolo Valori, and Giovanni Folchi, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the tower of Volterra. The crime of Valori consisted merely in having heard one of the conspirators give some indication of his intentions, without having revealed it to the magistrates; (a) and in such a light was this offence considered, that had not the powerful influence of his nephew, Bartolommeo Valori, a zealous partizan of the Medici, been exerted in his favour, the historian of Lorenzo, the father of the pontiff, would in all probability have forfeited his life. No sooner, however, was Leo seated in the pontifical chair, than his interference obtained the liberation of the prisoners; and it was conjectured, that his pardon would also have been extended to the principals, had not the severity of the Florentine magistrates prevented it, by ordering them to execution immediately after the sentence was pronounced. (b) The conduct of Leo X. towards the family of Soderini was calculated still more to increase his reputation for clemency and generosity. He well remembered his paternal maxim, that "to convert an enemy into a friend, is not less consistent with sound policy, than with true humanity." Among the members of the college, the

(a) On this occasion, one of the Florentine historians makes a homely, but striking remark, "Tanto è odioso a' governatori il poco fallire d'un delinquente, quanto al naso d'un troppo delicato padrone, il puzzo del fiato del servidore che abbia mangiato uno sol spicchio, come uno intero capo d'aglio." *Nardi. Hist. Fior.* p. 160.

(b) *Nerli, Comment. di Fir.* lib. vi. p. 123.

first whom he singled out as the object of his particular kindness, was the cardinal Francesco Soderini, the brother of Pietro Soderini, the exiled Gonfaloniere of Florence. On the invitation of the pope Pietro hastened to Rome, where he met not only with protection but favour, and where he passed the remainder of his days in an honourable independence, still retaining the title of Gonfaloniere. Nor did Leo hesitate to cement the connexion between this powerful family, and his own by the ties of affinity; and a marriage was soon afterwards celebrated between Luigi, the son of Piero Ridolfi, by his wife Contessina, the sister of the pontiff, and a niece of the Gonfaloniere.

Nor was the liberality of Leo confined merely to the forgiveness of injuries. The character which he had for many years sustained as the promoter of letters and of arts, had occasioned a general expectation, that on his being raised to the supreme dignity, and obtaining the direction of the treasures and emoluments of the Roman see, it would be impossible for genius, worth, and talents, to remain unnoticed or unrewarded. Before he quitted the conclave on his election, he had nominated as his pontifical secretaries Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleti, who were then in Rome, and were justly esteemed two of the first scholars of the age. The appointment to such a confidential situation of two men, who had not risen by the indirect means of ecclesiastical intrigue, and were only known by their talents and their acquirements, gave additional hopes of that patronage to science, to literature, and the arts, which was shortly afterwards so effectually rea-

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Recals Soderini.

Appoints
Bembo and
Sadoleti his
secretaries.

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lized. (a) Under these impressions Rome became at once the general resort of those who possessed, or had pretensions to superior learning, industry, or ability: all of whom took it for granted, that the supreme pontiff had now no other objects of attention, than to listen to their representations, to admire their productions, and to reward their labours. If their expectations were not immediately fulfilled, it may, in justice to the character of the new pontiff, be observed, that upon his elevation to his high office, his first attention was turned to objects of yet greater importance, and more suited to his dignity. From the elevated station in which he was placed he took a comprehensive view of the whole extent of Europe; resolved, as far as lay in his power, to terminate the disgraceful contests that subsisted among the Christian princes, and to exercise his authority, as head of the Christian church, in promoting the repose and happiness of those whom he considered as committed to his care. Even before his coronation he addressed a letter to Sigismond, king of Poland, who was then meditating a formidable attack upon Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, entreating him to suspend hostilities until a legate should arrive from Rome, who might endeavour to reconcile their dissensions without their having recourse to the sword. In this letter he avows his intention of labouring to maintain the repose of

Leo resolves
to establish
the peace of
Europe.

(a) “Soleo enim quotiescumque in sermonem incido de Leone X. illud frequenter usurpare; ex omnibus rebus quas ille pontificatu suo gessit amplissimas, nullam majore laude ac predicatione dignam extitisse, quam quod Petrum Bembum et Jacobum Sadoletum, duo illa eloquentiæ lumina, sibi a secretis asciverit.” *Hier. Niger, Ep. ad Paul. Rhamnus in Ep. Sadolet. App. p. 138.*

Europe; for which purpose he had resolved to send as his legates, to every nation, men of high rank and authority; (a) and expresses his strong sense of the folly and wickedness of those destructive quarrels which had so long disgraced and depopulated the Christian world. (b)

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At this time, the expulsion of the French from Italy had given a momentary repose to that unhappy country, and the union formed by Julius II. between the emperor elect Maximilian, the kings of Aragon and of England, the Venetians, and the church, by which that event had been accomplished, seemed to secure the general tranquillity. Louis XII. was, however, too ambitious, and too powerful a prince, to suffer himself to be deterred from the prosecution of his claims on the duchy of Milan, by the unfortunate events which had conspired to frustrate the acknowledged successes of his arms; and at the very time when Leo assumed the pontifical chair, that monarch was exerting all his influence to compose the dissensions which subsisted between himself and Henry VIII. of England, and to terminate the disputes in which he was involved with the emperor elect, that he might be enabled to devote his attention and resources towards this, his favourite object. Unsuccessful in these negotiations, he endea-

Louis XII.
intends to
attack the
Milanese.

(a) "Decrevi enim meos legatos, magnos viros, ad plurimas quamprimum nationes mittere," &c. *Bembi, Epist. nom. Leon. X.* lib. i. ep. v. *ante coronationem.*

(b) The conciliatory disposition evinced by the pontiff in the commencement of his pontificate is pointedly referred to by Guido Postumo, in his elegiac address to the *Manes* of Alexander VI. and Julius II. *v. App. No. LXXII.*

CHAP. X. voured to obviate the opposition which he had hitherto experienced from the holy see. The death

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of Julius II. who had been the soul of the league, had released him from an implacable enemy, and afforded him hopes that his successor might be more favourable to his views; and these hopes were, perhaps, encouraged by a declaration which the pope had taken occasion to make, "that he would not attempt any thing against the French monarch." (a) With these expectations Louis XII. addressed himself to Giuliano de' Medici, then at Florence, professing the most earnest desire of promoting his interest, and his joy on the elevation of his brother to the pontifical throne. At the same time he expressed his hopes that the pope would not oppose his designs upon Milan; in which case he would not pursue his conquests further, and would make Leo himself the arbiter of the terms of peace. (b) These proposals were immediately forwarded to Rome by Giuliano, who, attentive rather to the personal obligations which during his exile he had contracted to Louis XII. and to the promises contained in his letters, than to the political consequences of the measure, earnestly entreated the pontiff to enter into the proposed alliance. The reply of the pope to his brother, which was doubtless intended to be communicated to Louis XII. whilst it further manifests his earnest wishes to maintain the repose of Italy, indisputably proves that he was well aware of the ambitious projects of the king, and was by

(a) "Se nolle aliquid contra regem Franciæ attentare." *Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Not. et Extr. des MSS. du Roi*, vol. ii. p. 580.

(b) *Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 36.*

no means inclined to promote them. (a) Louis was not however to be deterred by the coldness or the enmity of the pope; who, notwithstanding the conciliatory tenor of this letter, had made no offer to relieve him from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by Julius II. He therefore redoubled his exertions with the other parties to the league, and at length prevailed upon Ferdinand of Aragon to agree to a cessation of arms for one year. The king of England and the emperor elect were also introduced as contracting parties in this treaty; but circumstances occurred which effectually prevented their assenting to it. (b)

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The efforts of Louis XII. to engage the Venetians in his interests were however more decidedly successful. By a versatility which in other times would have appeared extraordinary, these republicans deserted their allies who had saved them from destruction, and entered into a treaty with the king for assisting him in the recovery of Milan, and for ascertaining the limits of their respective territories. This treaty was concluded at Blois, on the thirteenth day of March, and was subscribed on the part of the senate by Andrea Gritti, who had been

Treaty of
Blois.

(a) This letter is given in the Appendix, No. LXXIII.

(b) This treaty, which bears date the 1st of April, 1513, is given in Rymer. *Fœdera*, vi. par. i. p. 40. The names of the king of England and of the emperor elect were inserted wholly without their knowledge; and it must have appeared, as Guicciardini observes, highly ridiculous, that on the very day that it was published in Spain, a herald arrived from Henry VIII. to announce his hostile preparations against France, and to require the assistance of Ferdinand, under his prior engagement for that purpose. *Guicciard.* lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 34.

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carried a prisoner into France. It purported to be an offensive and defensive league between the contracting powers. The Cremonese, with the district of Ghiaradadda, were to be annexed to the state of Milan; but the cities of Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, were again to submit to the authority of the senate. (a) Among the Italian prisoners in France, who were now restored to liberty, was Bartolommeo d'Alviano, (b) who immediately repaired to Venice, to justify himself from the imputations under which he laboured on account of the unfortunate battle of Ghiaradadda, the loss of which he attributed to the misconduct of the count of Pitigliano. The dead warrior could not refute the charge, and d'Alviano was again appointed to the chief command of the Venetian troops.

Leo endeavours to dissuade Louis XII. from attacking Milan.

The preparations making by Louis XII. and the Venetian states were observed by Leo X. with the greatest anxiety. Besides his uniform desire of maintaining the public tranquillity, various motives concurred in rendering these proceedings highly obnoxious to him. By the first visit of the French into Italy, he and his family had been expelled from their native place, and compelled to wander as fugitives for the long space of eighteen years. The adherence of the Florentines to the interests of

(a) This treaty, called the treaty of Blois, was confirmed at Venice, on the 11th of April, 1513. It is given by Lunig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom.* vol. ii. p. 2005, and in the collection of Dumont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 182.

(b) Leo, not being yet apprised of the motive of the king in restoring d'Alviano to liberty, wrote to him in commendation of his generosity towards this celebrated commander, of whom he expresses himself in terms of high approbation and esteem. v. *App.* No. LXXIV.

France during this period, had given rise to a spirit of party, by which the cause of the French and that of the Medici, were habitually regarded as hostile to each other. Nor could Leo so soon forget the unfortunate day of Ravenna, when he was made a prisoner by the French arms, and was indebted for his liberty, not to the generosity of his conquerors, but to his own good fortune. To these personal motives of opposition might be added the apprehensions entertained by the pope, that by the success of the French in Milan the Roman see would again be divested of the territories of Parma and Piacenza, which after having been added by the vigilance of Julius II. to the dominions of the church, were immediately on the death of that pontiff restored by the viceroy Cardona to the duke of Milan, and by him again surrendered to Leo X. (a) For these reasons, Leo determined to exert all the means in his power either to prevent the expedition of the king, or to frustrate its success. On the first rumour of the treaty of Blois, he despatched a messenger to his legate Pietro da Bibbiena, directing him to express to the Venetian senate his confidence that they would not engage in any measure of importance, without first consulting him as their ally. He also addressed himself by letter to Louis XII. who had communicated to him the terms of the treaty concluded with Ferdi-

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(a) " Si prevalse il papa di questi rumori, per far paura a Massimiliano, Duca di Milano, tanto che ottenne di ricavare dalle sue mani Parma e Piacenza. Il che fatto, non piacendo ad esso pontifice la venuta de' Francesi cominciò segretamente a muovere con danari gli Svizzeri al soccorso del duca di Milano." *Murat. Annali.* vol. x. p. 95; and v. *Bull of Leo X. Lünig, Cod. Ital. Diplom.* vol. ii. p. 802.

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of Aragon ; assuring him that nothing could be more agreeable to his disposition than to see the princes of Christendom united in bonds of amity, but expressing at the same time his regret, that the French monarch had avowed his intention of again attacking the state of Milan. He justly reminds him that instead of relinquishing hostilities this is only transferring his arms to another object ; and earnestly exhorts him not to interrupt again the repose of Italy, but to spare that unhappy country a repetition of those calamities which she had experienced for such a series of years. (a) This letter the pontiff despatched by a confidential servant named Cinthio, the object of whose mission has been grossly misrepresented by some authors ; who conceive, that they are displaying their own talents, in accounting for the conduct of others, by attributing it to indirect and culpable motives. (b)

(a) The letter is given in the Appendix, No. LXXV.

(b) Guicciardini only informs us, that the pope sent to the king, "*Cinthio, sua familiare, con una lettera con umana commessione, ma tanto general i che arguivano non avere l' animo inclinato a lui,*" lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 37 ; which sufficiently agrees with the tenor of the letter as yet preserved. But the author of the *Ligue de Cambray*, informs us, that the envoy of the pope, "*assura le Roi, de la part du pape, que sa Sainteté étoit l'héritier des sentimens respectueux de la maison de Médicis pour la couronne de France ; que son père Laurent n'avoit eu, ni plus d'inclination, ni plus de vénération, que lui, pour les Rois tres Chrétiens : mais que Pape depuis un mois, il ne pouvoit pas rompre en un jour les engagements solennels où son predecesseur avoit jetté le saint Siège. Que son intention étoit bien de changer de parti, et de se ranger du côté du Roi ; mais qu'une pareille révolution étoit un ouvrage de longue haleine pour un Souverain électif,*" etc. *Ligue de Camb.* liv. iv. tom. ii. 284. If Leo had not more honesty, he had certainly more good sense, than to disgrace himself by language of this na-

Confiding, however, but little in these representations, Leo had already begun to adopt such measures as he thought would be most effectual for preserving Italy from another conflagration. To this end he had endeavoured to prevail upon the emperor elect, Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Aragon, to unite with him in a general opposition to the French king. The cold and deliberating policy of Ferdinand, and the weak and versatile temper of Maximilian, might have frustrated the hopes of the pontiff; but their reluctance, or inability, was amply compensated by the introduction of another ally, whose youth, disposition, and resources, were well calculated to render him an object of alarm to the French monarch. This was Henry VIII. of England, who had succeeded to the crown in the year 1509, and being now in the vigour of life, burnt with an ambitious desire of emulating the conquests of his ancestors by a descent upon France. The immense wealth accumulated by his predecessors, and which he retained to his own use, whilst he sacrificed to the popular fury the unhappy wretches who had been the instruments of extorting it, enabled him not only to raise a powerful army, but to subsidize his continental allies; and the spirit of the people, recovering from its torpor, earnestly sought for an opportunity of exertion and of danger. Under these circumstances, the pope, who had already endeavoured to secure the favour and friendship of Henry, (a) found no great difficulty in engaging him to unite with the emperor elect, the king of

ture: which can only serve to amuse those who read history as a romance.

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Opposes
Louis XII.
and forms
the treaty of
Mechlin.

(a) v. The letter from Leo X. to Henry VIII. in Appendix, No. LXXVI.

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Aragon, and himself, in a league against France, which was concluded and signed at Mechlin, then the residence of the Archduchess Margaret of Austria, on the fifth day of April, 1513, and by which they agreed to unite together for the defence of the church, and to attack the kingdom of France within two months, in such provinces as are particularly specified in the treaty. As the emperor elect could only be induced to lend his name to this alliance by a considerable bribe, Henry undertook to pay him one hundred thousand crowns ; thirty-five thousand of which were to be paid within one month after Maximilian declared war against Louis XII. as much more when he appeared by himself or his commanders in actual arms against him, and the remainder within three months from the commencement of the war. (a) The English historians have considered Henry as the dupe of his pretended allies in this transaction ; and it is certain, that Ferdinand of Aragon carefully concealed from him the truce which he had lately entered into for a year with Louis XII. and which he intended either to adhere to, or to violate, as might best suit his future views. (b)

Leo subsidizes the Swiss.

The efforts thus made by Leo X. for the defence of Milan were but ill seconded by Maximilian Sforza, who inherited neither the warlike spirit, nor the political sagacity by which many of his ancestors had been distinguished. (c) Wholly devoid of those

(a) v. *Appunctuamenta cum Leone papa, pro defensione Ecclesiæ.* Rymer. *Fædera*, vol. vi. par. i. p. 41. Dumont, *Corps Diplomatique*, vol. iv. par. i. p. 173.

(b) *Rapin*, book xv. vol. i. p. 720.

(c) *Campo, Cremona fedelissima*, p. 104.

qualities which might attach the affection or command the respect of his subjects, he was unfortunately placed in a situation in which his public measures required a degree of indulgence seldom conceded without murmurs even to the most favourite rulers. In order to gratify the Swiss mercenaries, by whose aid he had been raised to the chief authority, he had been obliged to have recourse to oppressive taxations; and the dissatisfaction to which these gave rise was increased by the measures necessary to be adopted for the defence of his dominions. Disgusted with their new sovereign, whose personal appearance too well corresponded with the imbecility of his mind, the inhabitants of Milan looked with a favourable eye towards the approaching contest. The presence and activity of Prospero Colonna, whom Leo had despatched to the assistance of the duke, compensated, however, in a great degree for his defects; but the principal reliance of the pontiff was on the courage of a large body of Swiss mercenaries, whose friendship and support he had effectually secured by continuing to them the stipends agreed to be paid by Julius II. Of these auxiliaries, five thousand had already made their appearance in the district of Tortona, where they expected to be joined by the viceroy Cardona at the head of the Spanish troops. In this they were, however, disappointed; the Spanish general having, under various pretexts, kept aloof from the probable scene of action. The Swiss, not discouraged by the indecision of their supposed ally, and expecting numerous reinforcements of their own countrymen, hesitated not to take upon themselves the defence of the Milanese; and Max-

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CHAP. imilian Sforza, quitting his capital, raised his stand-
X. ard in the midst of them, and prepared to repel the
threatened invasion. (a)

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Louis XII.
attacks the
states of
Milan.

The French army designed for this expedition, consisting of fifteen hundred men at arms, eight hundred light horse, and fourteen thousand foot, among whom were the celebrated *bandes noires*, (b) was commanded by the duke de la Tremouille, assisted by the Italian general Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, marshal of France. (c) Descending from Susa into Lombardy, these commanders possessed themselves, without opposition, of Asti and of Alessandria. The adherents of the French in Milan, availing themselves of the absence of the duke, again avowed their partiality to Louis XII. and introduced into the citadel, which was yet held by a French garrison, additional troops and plentiful supplies of provisions. About the same time the French fleet arrived before Genoa, where a popular commotion also took place, and the Milanese governor, Giano Fregoso, with difficulty effected his escape. Whilst the arms of Louis XII. were thus successful, both by sea and land, his allies, the Venetians, were not inactive. (d) Bartolommeo d'Alviano, at the head of a well-appointed army of twelve thousand men, attacked the city of Cre-

(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 39.

(b) *Ligue de Cambray*, vol. ii. p. 283. *Murat. Annal. d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 95.

(c) The Cav. Rosmini has sufficiently shewn, that Trivulzio held a co-ordinate authority with the duke; *Storia di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio*, vol. i. p. 468; but the honour obtained by them in the contest that ensued, is scarcely worth apportioning with accuracy.*

(d) *Murat. Annali d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 96.

mons, from which he expelled the Milanese general, Cesare Fieramosca, and reinforced the citadel, which was still in the hands of the French. Bergamo soon opened her gates and raised the banner of St. Mark; Brescia followed the example; and the Spaniards, who had occupied that city, were compelled to take shelter in the castle. Every thing, in short, announced the sudden and favourable termination of a war, begun on the part of the assailants with equal unanimity, vigour, and success.

In the mean time, Leo, on whose assistance the duke of Milan principally relied for his defence against these powerful adversaries, was not idle. He could not, indeed, send to his aid a military force equal to the urgency of the occasion; but he immediately despatched Girolamo Morone, the Milanese envoy at the Roman court, with forty-two thousand ducats as the arrears of the stipend due to the Swiss, for the protection so faithfully and effectually offered by them to the church and her allies. (a) The viceroy Cardona, who had probably received directions from his master not to infringe the truce so lately entered into by him for one year with Louis XII. had quitted his encampment on the Trebbia to return to Naples and leave the Milanese to its fate; but the intelligence of this timely supply of money, and of the arrival of a large additional body of Swiss troops, induced him to change his purpose and return to his former station. The whole of the Milanese was now in the possession of the French, except Como and Novara, which still retained their allegiance to the duke, who had retired to the latter of these places

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Battle of
Novara.

(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 30.

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accompanied by his Swiss auxiliaries. His sensations could not, however, be of the most agreeable kind, when he recollected, that at this very place his father had, a few years before, been betrayed by the same people in whom he now confided, to the marshal Trivulzio, the very man who was now pressing forward to besiege the place; and it is averred, that Trivulzio was, in fact, so confident of a similar event, that he wrote to Louis XII. assuring him that he would deliver up this duke into his hands as he had before done his predecessor; an assurance which led to a conjecture, that he had also employed the same means for that purpose.^(a) Elated with their success, the French forces commenced the siege of Novara, which they attacked with a formidable train of artillery. On the other hand, the Swiss, although as yet much inferior in number, were so far from betraying any symptoms of apprehension, that they threw open the gates and afforded their adversaries an

(a) This conjecture is admitted by the Cav. Rosmini to be well founded. “Mentre le cose si disponevano ad un fatto d’armi fra i due eserciti, il Trivulzio non era senza speranza di potere, risparmiando il sangue, far trionfare il suo Re, mettendolo in possessione di Lombardia, coll’indurre gli Svizzeri mercè di buona somma di contanti, ad abbandonare il duca Massimiliano, e quindi spedi più volta ad essi facondi ed accorti nunzii, per indurli a quest’effetto. Ma o che a questa volta pentiti essi del tradimento usato in danno del padre volessen lavarlo operandosi, in difesa del figliuolo, o che maggiore utilità da questa trassero, che non era quella che lor veniva offerta dal Re, alle preposte di Trivulzio non dierono che vaghe ed ambigue risposte, che vote anche tornar d’effetto.” *Rosmini, Istor.* vol. i. p. 470. Even the author of the *Ligue de Cambray*, though always jealous of the honour of his countrymen, admits that the French commander Tremouille “avoit une pratique” with the Swiss. *Lib. iv. vol. ii. p. 299.**

opportunity of entering the place, of which they did not choose to avail themselves. At this critical juncture, another large body of Swiss arrived and approached the besieged city, the information of which circumstance no sooner reached the French commander, than he retired from before the place and encamped at the Riotta, about two miles distant. The Swiss reinforcements under the command of their general Mottino entered the town of Novara, and on a deliberation which immediately took place among the leaders, it was resolved to proceed to the attack of the French, without waiting for the arrival of the baron of Halle Saxony, their commander in chief, who was shortly expected with an additional body of troops. Soon after midnight, on the the sixth day of June, 1513, the Swiss troops accordingly quitted the city. Without artillery, without cavalry, and greatly inferior in numbers, they furiously assaulted the French in their intrenchments before break of day. Though not prepared for instantaneous action, the French had not been inattentive to their defence, and an engagement ensued which was supported on both sides with equal courage for several hours. The artillery of the French being brought to bear upon the assailants, thinned their numbers and disordered their line; but nothing could resist the impetuosity and courage of the Swiss, who, conceiving themselves to be contending for glory with the German mercenaries in the pay of the French king, repeated their attack with fresh ardour, until at length they possessed themselves of the artillery and turned it against its former masters. This event effectually decided

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the fortune of the day. The rout of the French became general. The cavalry led the way in the retreat. All the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the conquerors. It was expected that the French would have rallied their troops in Piedmont and returned again to the charge; but notwithstanding the remonstrances of Trivulzio they again crossed the Alps, leaving their conquests in Milan and their allies the Venetians to the mercy of their enemies. The Swiss returned in triumph to Novara, elated with a victory which may be compared, as well with regard to the magnanimity of the attempt as the courage of its execution and its decisive consequences, with any action in the records of either ancient or modern times.(a)

Robert de
la Marck.

Brilliant however as was the success of the Swiss on this occasion, it was not obtained without great sacrifices. Of ten thousand men who left Novara, about one half were left dead on the field, among whom was their gallant commander Mottino; but the loss of the French was still greater, and has been estimated by the joint consent of the French and Italian historians at eight thousand men. These historians, although discordant in many other points respecting this remarkable contest, have joined in commemorating a noble instance of heroic courage and paternal affection in Robert de la Marck; who, at the head of a body of cavalry, pierced through the

(a) Guicciard. lib. xi. *Ligue de Cambray*, ii. 300, &c. The latter author has laboured to throw the ignominy of this defeat on the Italian leader Trivulzio, but the reasons which he adduces are by no means satisfactory.

Swiss ranks and liberated his two sons who had been wounded and made prisoners. The apology of the French writers for the loss of this memorable day is, that their cavalry, from the situation of the place or the misconduct of Trivulzio, could not be brought into action; but if the love of glory had been as powerful in them as the love of his children in Robert de la Marck, it is evident that the difficulties of their position would have been readily surmounted.

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As this signal victory and the consequent expulsion of the French from Milan were wholly to be attributed to the Swiss, who had been engaged in the cause by the precaution and liberality of Leo X. these events reflected great honour on that pontiff. His apprehensions from the irruption of the French being now removed, he did not hesitate to express to his brave auxiliaries, in a public letter, the satisfaction which he had received from their services. (a) In this letter he professes to lament, no less from the humanity of his own disposition than from his duty as the common parent of Christendom, the dreadful slaughter which had taken place; but he rejoices that they who had vexed the spouse of God, and attempted to rend that garment not made by hands, and by which they had subjected themselves to the anathema of the church, had received the just reward of their demerits. He then avows his high regard for his courageous allies, entreating them not to credit the representations of those who insinuate, that as soon as peace shall be restored he shall disregard their favour and their services, and as-

Leo recommends lenient measures to the conquerors.

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sureing them that as long as they may choose to continue their alliance with him, he will strictly adhere to its stipulations. On the same occasion he addressed a congratulatory letter to Maximilian duke of Milan, (a) in which he admonishes him not only to return due thanks to God for so signal an interposition in his favour, but to show himself worthy of it by his future conduct. "This," says he, "will be most effectually done by your not allowing yourself to be too much elated with your success, and by your avoiding to persecute or destroy those who have been induced to oppose you. Let me therefore most earnestly entreat you, by the affection which I bear you, to deal kindly with them; and if any have erred (as has perhaps been the case with many) to consider them rather as objects of pardon than of resentment. By these means you will conciliate the minds of those who have been alienated from you, without incurring any diminution of your authority; and I trust you will therefore make a moderate and lenient use of your victory." To the same effect Leo also wrote to the viceroy Cardona, (b) requesting him to interpose his kind offices with Maximilian, "to prevent his treating with severity any of his subjects, and to represent to him, that as on the one hand there was nothing more becoming a prince than placability, lenity, and compassion; so on the contrary there was nothing more detestable than cruelty, wrath, and resentment." As the enforcing these truly wise and generous maxims is the chief purpose of the let-

(a) v. Appendix, No. LXXVIII.

(b) v. Appendix, No. LXXIX.

ters referred to, we may justly conclude, that the pontiff sincerely felt the humane sentiments which he has there expressed ; and this opinion is indeed confirmed by several subsequent letters, in which he exhorts the conquerors not to treat with severity the neighbouring and subordinate sovereigns who had been obliged to espouse the cause of the French, and especially recommends to their lenity the family of Pallavicinī, and William, marquis of Montferrat. (a)

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The Venetian general d'Alviano had, prior to the battle of Novara, advanced as far as Lodi, intending to join the French ; but Cardona, although he had before shown no great alacrity, interposed on this occasion to prevent the junction. (b) No sooner was the event of that contest known than d'Alviano, abandoning his former intention, demolished the bridge on the Adda and retreated to Padua, where he strongly fortified himself. The inhabitants of Milan, thus decidedly left to the mercy of their sovereign, sent deputies to entreat his forgiveness, and in order to prove the sincerity of their contrition they put to the sword all the French in Milan, excepting only a few who had the good fortune to obtain shelter in the citadel, which was still held by their countrymen. The other cities of the Milanese adopted a similar measure, and three hundred Gascons who remained in Pavia fell a sacrifice to the cowardice and the fears rather than to the resentment of the populace. The city of Genoa yet acknowledged the authority of Louis XII. but Cardona, desirous of

Expulsion of
the French
from Italy.

(a) *Bemb. Epist. nom. Leon. X. lib. iii. ep. 3, 4.*

(b) *Murat. Annali d' Ital. vol. x. p. 98, &c.*

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making reparation for his apparent inactivity, despatched Ferdinando Davalos, marquis of Pescara, at the head of four hundred horse and three thousand foot, with which he possessed himself of the place; and having expelled Antoniello Adorno, the French governor, appointed to the office of Doge, Ottaviano Fregoso, who had accompanied him on this expedition, and who liberally rewarded his services by a heavy contribution raised from the inhabitants.

Henry VIII.
invades
France.

Whilst these transactions occurred in Italy, Henry VIII. in strict performance of the treaty of Mechlin, passed in the month of June, 1513, over to Calais with a powerful body of troops. The earl of Shrewsbury, who had preceded him, had already effected a landing and laid siege to Terouenne. Henry expected to have been joined according to the terms of the treaty by a strong reinforcement from the emperor elect Maximilian; but that mean and crafty sovereign, in order to entitle himself to the payment of the subsidy which Henry had agreed to advance on his appearing in arms against the French king, came in person to the English camp and offered his services to Henry as a volunteer in his army. The pride of the English monarch was gratified in having an emperor in his service. He assigned to him a subordinate command in the British army, and Maximilian thought it no disgrace to receive, under the name of his wages, one hundred crowns per day. (a)

Battle of
the spurs.

The approach of the French army under the command of the duke de Longueville to the relief

of Terouenne, brought on the memorable engagement of Guingaste, usually called the battle of the spurs, from its having been said that the French made more use of those implements than of their swords on that occasion. (a) The consequent fall of Terouenne was soon followed by that of the important city of Tournay. The former of these places Henry gave to Maximilian, who razed its foundations, and Terouenne has since been blotted from the map of Europe. The latter he retained under his own authority, but as the bishoprick was then vacant, he conferred it, with its episcopal revenues, which amounted to a considerable sum, on his new favourite Wolsey, who had attended him on this expedition. (b)

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Whilst Henry was thus carrying his victorious arms into France, he received information of the most alarming nature respecting the safety of his own dominions. James IV. of Scotland, who had married Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII. (c) availing himself of the absence of his brother-in-law, and prevailed upon by the representations of the French envoy to unite his arms with those of Louis XII., assembled an army which has been said to have consisted of one hundred thousand men, but which probably was composed of some-

The king
of Scotland
attacks
England.

(a) August 16, 1513. *Rapin's Hist.* book xv. vol. i. p. 722. *Hume*, chap. xxvii.

(b) The manner in which the intelligence of this victory was received at the court of Rome appears by a letter from the cardinal of York to Henry VIII. v. Appendix, No. LXXX.

(c) It was on the occasion of this marriage, which finally produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms, that Dunbar wrote his celebrated poem of *The Thistle and the Rose*. v. *War-ton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 257.

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what more than half that number. He then sent a herald to Henry to acquaint him with the reasons of his hostile preparations, the chief of which was to compel him to relinquish the war with France. The answer of Henry, written before Terouenne, was a defiance and a threat. (a) He informed him, that he was not surprised to find him breaking the treaty between them upon frivolous pretences, since he thereby imitated the example of his ancestors. He upbraided James, that whilst he knew him to be in England he had never avowed an intention of espousing the cause of France, but had waited for his absence to carry his treacherous purpose into execution. He assured him, however, that being perfectly aware of his character, he had taken such measures before his departure for the defence of his kingdom as he did not doubt would, with the help of God, frustrate the endeavours of all schismatics excommunicated by the pope and the council of the Lateran. James did not, however, wait for this answer; but entering Northumberland in the month of August, 1513, possessed himself of several places of strength. The earl of Surrey, then in Yorkshire at the head of twenty-six thousand men, marched to oppose his progress, and the contest was decided on the ninth day of September by the memorable battle of Flodden, in which the flower of the Scottish nobility, and many dignified ecclesiastics, with eight or ten thousand soldiers, lost their lives. (b) The loss of the English on this occasion

Battle of
Flodden.

(a) *Rapin's Hist.* book xv. vol. i. p. 724.

(b) On the part of the Scots, there fell, besides the king, an archbishop, two bishops, four abbots, twelve earls, and seventeen

was upwards of five thousand men, but among them were few persons of distinction. James IV. was never seen after the battle. The English supposed they had found his body amidst a heap of slain ; (a) and although the Scots denied it, yet they were never afterwards able to discover their unfortunate monarch. The intelligence of these important successes no sooner arrived in Rome, than Leo addressed the following letter to Henry VIII. who yet remained in France.

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LEO X. TO HENRY VIII. KING OF ENGLAND.(b)

“ The perusal of your letters, in which you inform me of your victory over the French, and

Congratulatory letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII.

barons, with eight or ten thousand common soldiers. *Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.* p. 18.

(a) His body was inclosed in a coffin of lead, and conveyed to London ; but as James died excommunicate, it could not be buried without a dispensation from the pope, which at the request of Henry VIII. Leo granted, under the pretext, that James had, in his last moments, shown some signs of contrition, such as his circumstances would admit of. *Rymer, Fœdera*, vol. vi. par. i. p. 53.

(b) Appendix, No. LXXXI. This victory was also celebrated in an Italian poem of 133 stanzas in ottava rima, entitled *LA ROTTA DE' SCOCESI* ; printed without note of date or place, but certainly shortly after the event occurred. The author seems to have been well acquainted with the circumstances attending the battle, the particulars of which he has related in such verses as the following :

“ Vedeasi a un tratto tante arme callare
Che un bosco a basso ruinar pareva ;
Tanta gente in un tratta traboccare,
Che nel lo Octobre tante non si leva
Foglie, & già tanto sangue roversciare
Che lo aier, non ch'l prato se tingeva,
Et era certo gran compassione,
Veder tal sangue, & cader di persone.”

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your conquests in that kingdom, has afforded me great pleasure ; as well on account of my paternal kindness for you, as from the importance of your achievements. I give thanks to God, that he has favoured the exertions of those who have taken up arms for the pious and commendable purpose of supporting the cause of his church. It is true, I had previously considered as certain the event which has now occurred ; for when I knew, that in preparing for this attack you had the advantages of prudent councils, immense wealth, and numerous and courageous troops ; that you had also the advice of the emperor elect Maximilian, and, above all, that you were engaged in defending the cause of God, I had sufficient reason to hope for that success which has attended your arms. But whilst I was expressing my joy on this occasion to your ambassadors, and intended to congratulate you upon such an event, I received your further letters, informing me of another and a much more important victory, obtained over James, king of Scotland ; who having attempted to invade your dominions, has been defeated with the loss of his life and that of many of

The prowess of king James is thus described :

Jacobi haveva una lancia arrestata,
Massizza, dura, ben nervata, & forte,
Et venia avanti a briglia abbandonata,
Per poner l' inimici a mala sorte :
E innanzi che habbia questa hasta spezzata
A più di cinque fe sentir la morte,
Poi pose al brando tagliente la mano
Et getta quanti ne riscontra al piano."

A copy of this curious piece is in the collection of Benjamin Heywood Bright, Esq. to whom I am indebted for the use of it.*

his nobility, and the slaughter or captivity of a great part of his troops. Thus a few days have decided a most cruel and dangerous war. On receiving this information, although it was certainly very painful to me to hear of such an effusion of Christian blood, the destruction of so many thousands of the people of our common Lord, and the death of a Christian king of great fame and undoubted courage, the husband of your sister, who has fallen under the sword of a Christian king so nearly allied to him; yet I could not but rejoice in this victory over an enemy who sought to deter you from the prosecution of the commendable cause in which you are now engaged. On this account I have already, on my knees, offered up my thanks to God, who has thus crowned your arms with a double victory, and laid the foundation of that future glory which you have so well begun, in undertaking at so early a period of life the defence of his church. On your part, it will be proper that you should reflect that all this is his gift, and not the result of human aid. Nor will he refuse to recompense your virtues with much greater honours and rewards, provided that you acknowledge your dependence upon him, with that humility which such an occasion requires. If this be done, it is not only highly probable that the contest in which you are now engaged will have a happy termination, but that he will also in future prepare the way through which you may pass, and by great achievements consecrate your name to immortality. This event will take place, if you propose to yourself the termination of your differences with your present enemies, and apply

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CHAP. yourself to humble the pride and subdue the fero-
 X. city of the Turks. Even in the situation in which

A. D. 1513. we now stand there is no great time allowed for
 A. Æt. 38. deliberation. Already the kingdoms of Hungary
 A. Pont. 1. and Bohemia are harassed and depopulated by
 their incursions; whilst Italy herself, by the loss
 of many strong places on her frontiers, sees these
 barbarians approaching still nearer; an alarming
 and a melancholy spectacle! These dangers, if I
 may be allowed openly to express my feelings,
 keep me in apprehension and solicitude, and de-
 prive me in a great degree of the satisfaction
 which I should otherwise experience. I offer up
 however my prayers to God, that as the dignity
 of his church, of late so greatly impaired, has now
 been so happily restored by the efforts of those
 whose duty it is to assert her cause, he will at
 length place his shrines and temples in security
 from that conflagration, and the people devoted to
 his service from those chains, with which they
 are threatened by his irreconcilable enemies. On
 all these subjects I have, however, spoken more
 fully to your ambassador, the bishop of Worces-
 ter, who will explain to you yet more particularly
 my wishes. *Dated 5 Id. Oct. 1513.*"

Treaty of
 Dijon.

From the purport of this letter it is not difficult
 to perceive, that however much the pope was gra-
 tified by the success of the English monarch, it
 was by no means his wish that he should prosecute
 his victories. In fact, Leo had already, by the de-
 feat of the French, and their consequent expulsion
 from Milan, obtained the object which had led him
 to take a share in the contest; but besides these
 decisive events, other circumstances had occurred

which induced the pope to relax in his hostility against the French monarch. A body of fifteen thousand Swiss had made an irruption into the territories of France, where they had carried terror and consternation through the country, and having besieged Dijon, had compelled the duke de la Tremouille, who had shut himself up in that fortress, to a most disgraceful capitulation; by which he agreed that his sovereign should, in consideration of the retreat of the Swiss, relinquish all pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and should pay them the enormous sum of six hundred thousand crowns; twenty thousand of which he immediately advanced to them. The apprehensions which the pope had entertained for the safety of Italy were therefore for the present sufficiently allayed. Nor is it improbable that Henry allowed himself to be prevailed upon by the letter of the pope to relax in his hostilities, for he soon afterwards withdrew his armies, and on the seventeenth day of October left Lisle, and arrived on the twenty-fourth at his palace at Richmond.

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Nor did Leo relinquish his endeavours to reconcile the differences which had so long subsisted between the Venetians and the emperor elect; but finding that the senate continued to disregard his earnest recommendations, and being called upon by Maximilian to fulfil the treaty formed with Julius II. by a supply of troops, he despatched a body of two hundred men at arms and two thousand horse to the assistance of his allies. Attacked at the same time by the emperor elect, the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Milan, and threatened by the Swiss, who were at

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once the conquerors of the French and the terror of Italy, the Venetians had now no resource but in the courage of their troops and the talents of their commanders. The first attack of the allied army under the command of Cardona was directed against the city of Padua, but the great extent and strength of the place, and the number and courage of the troops employed under d'Alviano in its defence, frustrated the efforts of the allies, and after ten days ineffectually employed in its vicinity they were obliged to retire to Vicenza. Unable to dislodge the Venetians from Padua, they resolved to plunder the fertile territories in the vicinity of the Brenta, which intention they carried into execution with circumstances of peculiar enormity, continuing their excursions along the Adriatic coast, whence they even discharged their artillery against the city of Venice, to the no small vexation and terror of the inhabitants. (a) These measures induced d'Alviano to take the field in the hopes of cutting off their retreat. He was accompanied by the Venetian commissaries Andrea Gritti and Andrea Loredano. By a judicious arrangement on the banks of the Brenta and the Bachiglione he had already reduced the allied army to great straits. The commissaries were earnest with him to persevere in a system which would subdue their enemies by famine; but the impetuosity of d'Alviano was not to be restrained; and on the seventh day of October an engagement took place about three miles from Vicenza, which was not less obstinate and bloody in proportion to the number of the combatants, than

(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Ital.* vol. x. p. 102.

any that Italy had before seen. The attack of the allies was led by Prospero Colonna and Ferdinando Avalos. For some time the victory remained doubtful; but the Venetians were at length obliged to yield, if not to the courage, to the superior numbers of their opponents, with the loss in killed and prisoners of about five thousand men. Among the latter were the Venetian admiral Gian-Paolo Baglioni, and Andrea Loredano, one of the legates of the camp, who afterwards lost his life in a contest among the allies to determine which of them should hold him in custody. All the baggage and artillery of the Venetians fell into the hands of their enemies, who returned the same evening in triumph to Vicenza. (a)

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These hardy republicans, who had thus a second time braved the united attack of the princi-

(a) *Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, vol. x. p. 103. Respecting this battle there exists an authentic document in the possession of Benjamin Heywood Bright, Esq. being a printed letter from the Spanish general Cardona, to the cardinal of Gurck, the pope's legate, dated at Vicenza the 8th day of October, 1513, giving a particular account of the operations preceding and attending it, enumerating the principal nobility killed or taken prisoners, and stating that the Venetians lost upwards of four thousand soldiers, besides an infinite number of peasants.

In the same collection is a contemporary poem on the same subject, intitled;

LA ROTÀ DE' VENETIANI FATTA NOVAMENTE A DÌ VII. DE
OCTOBRE M.D.XIII.

It consists of sixty-three stanzas in ottava rima, and recounts the circumstances of the battle in an interesting and particular manner, although in a rude and incorrect style. The name of the author (real or fictitious) is thus given at the close,

“*Composta per l'auctore Perusino da la Rotunda.*”

It is without name of either place or printer.*

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The emperor elect
and the Venetians
submit their
differences
to Leo X.

pal powers of Europe, were not, however, yet subdued. The efforts of their commander Renzo da Ceri, who had possessed himself of the strong city of Crema, where he not only defended himself against the army of the allies under Prospero Colonna, but frequently made excursions and plundered his enemies of the contributions which they had raised in the adjacent districts, prevented the Venetians from being wholly deprived of their continental possessions. Their situation was, however, such as would not admit of further hazard; and they therefore at length listened to the admonitions of the pope, and expressed their willingness to submit to him the decision of their differences with the emperor elect. (a) The cardinal of Gurck, to whom Maximilian had intrusted the direction of his army, now took upon himself the more pacific office of his ambassador, and hastened to Rome to negotiate the proposed treaty; which was however long protracted by the difficulties which Leo and his ministers experienced in satisfying the avarice and ambition of this martial ecclesiastic.

Leo renews
the council
of the Lateran.

On the restoration of Maximilian Sforza to the duchy of Milan, the cardinals in the interests of Louis XII. had removed their assembly, which they dignified by the name of a council, to Asti, from which place they were soon afterwards obliged to retire for safety to Lyons. For the purpose of frustrating their proceedings, which threatened no less than a total schism in the christian church, and

(a) The instrument of submission is preserved by *Lünig. Cod. Ital. Diplom. tom. ii. p. 2010, &c. et v. Jovius, in vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 64. Guicciard. lib. xi. et Bembi Epist. nom. Leon. X.*

of effecting such salutary regulations in point of discipline as might deprive the pretended council of any necessity of interfering on that head, Leo determined to renew the meetings of the council of the Lateran, which had been opened by Julius II. and suspended only by his death. To this end, he gave directions that apartments should be prepared for him in the Lateran palace, where he determined to reside, that he might at all times be ready to attend the deliberations in person; and on the twenty-seventh day of April, 1513, (a) he accordingly opened the sixth session with great magnificence. If the number and respectability of the dignified ecclesiastics who were present on this occasion did honour to the pontiff, the conduct of Leo in the discharge of his office is acknowledged to have conferred no less dignity on the meeting. He was now in the prime of life; his manners grave but not austere; and in the performance of those public acts of devotion which were at some times incumbent upon him, he acquitted himself with a grace and a decorum which gave additional effect to the splendid ceremonies of that religion of which he was the head. After the hymn *Veni Creator*, Leo delivered a pastoral oration, in which he exhorted the assembled fathers to use their utmost endeavours for the benefit of the church, and declared it to be his intention to continue the council until the establishment of a general peace among the princes of Christendom. (b)

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A. Pont. I.

Having thus attended to the regulation of the temporal and ecclesiastical concerns of the Roman

Nominates
four cardinals.

(a) v. *Lateran. Concil. sub Leone X. celeb.* p. 73.

(b) *Lateran. Concil.* p. 75.

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A. Pont. I.

Lorenzo
Pucci.

see, Leo now conceived that he might, without any imputation of indecorum, confer upon such of his relations and friends as had continued faithful to him during his adverse fortune, and whose characters seemed to merit such a distinction, some of those high and lucrative offices of the church which he was now enabled to bestow. He was also, in all probability, desirous of increasing his influence in the sacred college by the introduction of such additional members as he knew he should find on all occasions firmly attached to his interests, and was perhaps not less actuated by the disposition, so common to the Roman pontiffs, of aggrandizing the individuals of his own family. Having therefore declared his intention of supplying the vacant seats in the college of cardinals, he, on the twenty-third day of September, 1513, nominated to that rank, Lorenzo Pucci, Giulio de' Medici, Bernardo Dovizi, and Innocenzio Cibò; who soon afterwards took their seats in the general council. The first of these persons was a fellow-citizen of the pontiff; who, born of a good family and well educated, had early devoted himself to the church, and having had the good fortune to obtain the favour of Julius II. had under that pontiff risen to the rank of apostolic datary, and been employed by him in the most important affairs of the state. By his talents and address Pucci rendered himself conspicuous in the subsequent meetings of the Lateran council, and acted an important part during the remainder of this pontificate, particularly in the approaching disturbances occasioned by the opposition of Luther to the Roman see. The partiality of which Leo might have been accused, in

selecting his cousin Giulio de' Medici for this distinguished honour, was sufficiently palliated by the acknowledged abilities and unwearied industry of this his faithful associate, the gravity of whose disposition was happily formed to remedy or correct the occasional sallies of vivacity which distinguished the supreme pontiff. It is true the illegitimacy of his birth would, according to the canons of the church, have formed an insuperable bar to this promotion; but there was no great difficulty in adducing evidence to prove that the mother of Giulio, before her cohabitation with his father Giuliano, the brother of Lorenzo the Magnificent, had received from him a promise of marriage; which was considered as sufficient to enable the pope to dispense with the rigour of the law. (a) Giulio assumed the title of S. Maria in Domenica, by which the pontiff had formerly been distinguished; but was from henceforth usually called the cardinal de' Medici. (b)

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A. Pont. I.

Giulio de'
Medici.

In appointing to the rank of cardinal Bernardo Dovizi, Leo repaid the obligations which he owed to one of his first instructors, of whose services he had availed himself on many important occasions. The cardinal da Bibbiena, as he was afterwards called, was not one of those ecclesiastics who con-

Bernardo
Dovizi.

(a) From these documents, which have been published by Cartharius in *Syllabo advocatorum Sacri Consistorii*, p. 71, it appears that Leo declared Giulio de' Medici, then Archbishop elect of Florence, "legitimum, et ex legitimo matrimonio inter Julianum Mediceum & Florettam Antonii natum fuisse et esse; eumque pro legitimo et ex legitimo matrimonio procreatum, in omnibus, et per omnia, pleno jure, vere et non fecte, haberi et reputari," &c. *Fabron. in Adnotat.* 31. *ad vit. Leon. X.* p. 275.

(b) He immediately announced his elevation to Henry VIII. in very respectful terms. v. App. No. LXXXII.

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A. Pont. I.

ceive that on entering the church they shut out the pleasures of the world. Though acknowledged to possess considerable dexterity in the affairs of state, he did not scruple at times to lay aside his gravity, and to contribute by his wit and vivacity to the amusement of his reverend associates; and his comedy of *Calandra* will perpetuate his name, when his political talents and high ecclesiastical rank will probably be disregarded and forgotten. After his preferment, the cardinal da Bibbiena became a distinguished promoter of literature and of the arts; and such was his attachment to the great painter Raffaello d'Urbino, that he had consented to give him his niece in marriage; a connexion which it has been supposed was prevented only by the premature death of that accomplished artist. (a)

Innocenzio
Cibò.

The last of the newly appointed cardinals, Innocenzio Cibò, was the grandson of Innocent VIII. being the offspring of Francesco Cibò, son of that pontiff by Maddalena, sister of Leo X. He was yet too young to have risen by any talents or merits of his own, but the advantages of his birth would probably have compensated for much greater defects than had fallen to the share of this young man. In the letter which Leo thought proper to address on this occasion to Ferdinand of Aragon, he has briefly enumerated the merits, or pretensions, of the newly created cardinals. (b) “ Although I know,” says he, “ that you are well advised of the public transactions of this place by the diligence of your envoy, yet I have thought it proper

(a) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, tom. ii. p. 132. Ed. di Bottari. Rom. 1759.

(b) For the letter in the original, v. Appendix, No. LXXXIII.

that you should learn from myself what has lately been done for the credit and advantage of the Roman state; not doubting from your well-known affection to the christian church, that it will prove equally agreeable to you as to myself. You will therefore understand, that on the twenty-third day of September, with the assent of my brethren, the cardinals of the church, I, for various and weighty reasons, elected into the sacred college, Lorenzo Pucci, my domestic datary, my cousin Giulio de' Medici, archbishop elect of Florence, Bernardo Dovizi of Bibbiena, and Innocenzio Cibò, the son of my sister and grandson of Pope Innocent VIII. With the prudence and integrity of three of these, as well as with their skill and experience in the transaction of public affairs, you are well acquainted; and I trust they will add to the stability and to the honour of the church. As to Innocenzio, I hope he will not disappoint the expectations formed of him. His capacity is excellent, his morals irreproachable, and his natural endowments are ornamented by his proficiency in literary studies; insomuch that no one can be more accomplished, virtuous, or engaging." Another reason alleged by Leo for admitting into the college a member who had as yet scarcely completed his twenty-first year, was his sense of the favours which he had himself, at so early an age, received from Innocent VIII. which he expressed, by saying, *That which I received from Innocent, to Innocent I restore.* (a)

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A. Pont. I.

During the short interval of time which had

(a) " Quod ab Innocentio accepi, Innocentio restituo." *Fabr.*
p. 78.

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A. Æt. 38.
A. Pont. I.Lorenzo de'
Medici as-
sumes the
government
of Florence.

elapsed between the return of the Medici to Florence and the elevation of Leo X. the affairs of that turbulent city had been directed by Giuliano, the brother of the pontiff; but in the deliberations on this subject in the Roman court, it was determined that Giuliano should relinquish his authority, and that the direction of the Florentine government should be intrusted to Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero, under the immediate direction of Giulio de' Medici and the ultimate superintendence of the pope. This measure has been attributed to various causes, and, in particular, to the dislike of Giuliano to the trouble attending the detail of public affairs; to the expectation of his obtaining by the authority of his brother a situation of still greater importance: and to the prior claims of Lorenzo to this authority, as representative of the elder branch of his family in which it had become in a manner hereditary. (a) It is, however, yet more probable, that the disposition which Giuliano had always shewn to gratify the wishes of the citizens, of which many instances are on record, (b) had in-

(a) *Ammirato, Ist. Flor.* lib. xxix. vol. iii. p. 315.

(b) Among other proofs of his humane and benevolent disposition it may be noticed, that he paid a visit to the celebrated Florentine commander, Antonio Giacomino Tebalducci, whose services had been employed by the republic in constant opposition to the Medici, but who was now advanced in years and deprived of sight. The old warrior, whilst he acknowledged the kindness of Giuliano, boldly avowed, that his exertions had not been wanting to preserve the liberties of his country, and requested that he might not be deprived of the arms which he retained in his house, as trophies of his victories, a request to which Giuliano willingly acceded, with high commendations of his courage and fidelity. His conduct to Giovacchino Guasconi, who was Gonfaloniere when Paolo Vitelli was executed at Florence, was not less conciliating and benevolent. *v. Nardi, Histor. Fior.* liv. vi. p. 158.

duced his more politic relations to doubt his resolution and to distrust his measures; and that they therefore chose to place in his stead a young man in whose name they might themselves in fact govern the republic. At this time Lorenzo was in the twenty-first year of his age, having been born on the thirteenth day of September, 1492, a few months before the death of his grandfather, Lorenzo the Magnificent. (a) After the expulsion of his family from Florence, he had been brought up by his mother Alfonsina Orsino, and had early felt the effects of popular resentment, having been banished a second time from his native place when only fifteen years of age, on account of the marriage of his sister Clarice with Filippo Strozzi; an event in which he could have had no responsible share. Lorenzo therefore returned to Florence, where the government was restored to nearly the same form in which it had subsisted in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent. (b) Two councils were formed; one of which consisted of seventy members, who were elected for life; the other of one hundred members, who were nominated every six months, and in which all persons who had served the office of Gonfaloniere might also attend as often as they thought proper. The province of the council of seventy was to propose and deliberate on all regulations for the benefit of the state; but before these could be passed into laws they were also to be considered and approved by the greater council, with whom the power of granting pecuniary

(a) *Ammirato, Ritratto di Lorenzo duca d' Urbino, in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 102.*

(b) *Nerli, Commentar. lib. vi. p. 126.*

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supplies and imposing taxes on the people was still allowed to reside. (a) Lorenzo himself, instead of being distinguished by any honorary title, was appointed one of the council of seventy, and took his place among his fellow citizens; but under this external form of a free government, the authority of the Medici was as absolute as if they had openly assumed the direction of the state. The assembly of seventy was in fact a privy council, nominated at their pleasure and implicitly following their directions; whilst the greater assembly served merely as a screen to hide from the people the deformity of a despotic government, and as a pretext to induce them to believe that they were still, in some measure, their own rulers.

Giuliano de'
Medici ad-
mitted a
Roman ci-
tizen.

The arrival of Giuliano de' Medici to take up his residence at Rome was considered by the citizens as a great honour, and his affability, generosity, and elegant accomplishments, soon procured him a very considerable share of public favour. On his being admitted to the privileges of a Roman citizen, which ceremony took place about the middle of the month of September, 1513, a temporary theatre was erected in the square of the Capitol; where a splendid entertainment was prepared, and various poetical compositions were recited or sung by persons equally distinguished by their talents and respectable by their rank. The second day was devoted to the representation of the *Penulus* of Plautus. These exhibitions, which were resorted to by an immense concourse of people, received every decoration which the taste of the times and the munificence of the pontiff could bestow, and

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seemed to recall those ages when Rome was the mistress of the world and expended in magnificent spectacles the wealth of tributary nations. Under the influence of the pontifical favour, talents and learning again revived, and *the Theatre of the Capitol* is celebrated by Aurelius Serenus of Monopoli in a Latin poem of no inconsiderable length, which has been preserved to the present times. (a) The honours conferred on his brother by the Roman people Leo affected to consider as a favour to himself; and as a proof of his generosity and paternal regard, he diminished the oppressive tax upon salt, enlarged the authority of the civil magistrates, and by many public immunities and individual favours sought to secure to himself the affections of his subjects. On this occasion the Roman citizens were not ungrateful. By the general consent of all ranks, a marble statue of the pontiff, the workmanship of the Sicilian sculptor Giacomo del Duca, a pupil of Michel Agnolo, (b) was erected in the Capitol, under which was inscribed

OPTIMI. LIBERALISSIMIQUE. PONTIFICIS.

MEMORIÆ.

S. P. Q. R.

The total ruin of the French cause in Italy had concurred with the well regulated proceedings of

(a) This poem, in three books, is entitled THEATRUM CAPITOLINUM, MAGNIFICO JULIANO INSTITUTUM PER AURELIUM SERENUM MONOPOLITANUM. (lib. iii.) It was printed at Rome, in *adibus Mazochianis, imperante divo Leone X. Pont. Maximo, pontificatus sui anno secundo, anno Dni. M. M. XIII.* The dedication to Leo X. is given from this rare work, in the Appendix, No. LXXXIV.

(b) *Vasari. Giunti di Bottari*, vol. ii. p. 50. vol. iii. p. 312, in note.

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A. Pont. I.

Leo pardons the refractory cardinals.

the council of the Lateran in discrediting the measures and destroying the authority of the assembly held at Lyons; and the character for lenity and generosity which Leo had already acquired, in affording the hope of pardon to the refractory ecclesiastics, became also a powerful motive for their submission. Eager to avail themselves of this favourable opportunity of effecting a reconciliation, the cardinals Sanseverino and Carvajal took shipping from France and arrived at the port of Leghorn, whence they proceeded without interruption by Pisa to Florence. On their arrival at this place, Leo was informed of their intentions; but although it was his wish to pardon their transgressions, he did not think it advisable to suffer them to proceed to Rome until he had prepared the way for their reception. As well, however, for their safety as for his own honour, he directed that they should remain at Florence under a guard; and that as they had been deprived by Julius II. which deprivation had been confirmed by the council of the Lateran, they should lay aside the habiliments of their former rank. (a) These directions were communicated to the humbled ecclesiastics by the bishop of Orvieto, whom Leo had despatched for that purpose, and who at the same time assured them of the lenient intentions of the pope, which their proper submission would assist him in carrying into effect. In truth, the hostility between Leo and these cardinals was rather of a political than a personal nature; and although one of them had presided over the council of Milan, and the other had marched at the head of the French army at the battle of

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X.

Ravenna, yet these circumstances had not obliterated the remembrance of former kindness, and Leo was, perhaps, gratified in evincing to the world that he was superior to the vindictive impulse of long continued resentment. In preparing the way for this reconciliation, he first obtained a decree of the council of Lateran, by which all those prelates and ecclesiastics who had been pronounced schismatical by his predecessor should be allowed to come in and make their submission, at any time prior to the end of November, 1513. This decree was, however, strongly opposed, not only by Matthew Schinner, cardinal of Sion, who spoke the opinions of the Helvetic state, and by Christopher Bambridge, cardinal of York, the representative of the king of England, but by the ambassadors of the emperor elect and of the king of Spain; all of whom expressed their dislike of a measure so derogatory to the majesty of the apostolic see, and strongly represented to the pope the pernicious consequences of granting a pardon to the chief authors of such a dangerous scandal to the church; at the same time highly commending the conduct of Julius II. who to the last hour of his life had refused to listen to any proposals of reconciliation. Leo was not, however, to be moved from his purpose. The repentant cardinals were ready to sign their recantation, and the council had approved the terms in which it was expressed. On the evening preceding the day appointed for their restitution they accordingly entered the city, deprived of the habit and insignia of their rank, and took up their abode in the Vatican. In the morning, they presented themselves before the pope,

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A. Æt. 38.
A. Pont. I.

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A. Pont. I.

who was prepared to receive them in the consistory, accompanied by all the cardinals, except those of Sion and of York, who refused to be present. In the simple habit of priests, and with black bonnets, they were led through the most public parts of the Vatican, where their humiliation was witnessed by a great concourse of people, who acknowledged that by this act of penance they had made a sufficient atonement for the errors of their past conduct. They were then introduced into the consistory, where they entreated, on their knees, the pardon of the pope and cardinals, approving all that had been done by Julius II. particularly the act of their own privation, and disavowing the *conciliabulum* of Pisa and Milan as schismatical and detestable. Having then subscribed their confession, they were allowed to rise; after which they made their obeisance and saluted the cardinals, who did not rise from their seats in return. This mortifying ceremony being concluded, they were once more invested with their former habits and took their places among their brethren, in the same order in which they had sat before their privation; (a) but this indulgence extended only to their rank and not to their benefices and ecclesiastical revenues, which having been conferred on others during their delinquency could not be restored.

In the deplorable condition to which the events of a few months had reduced the affairs of Louis

(a) A full account of this transaction is given by Leo himself, to the emperor elect Maximilian, v. Appendix, No. LXXXV. Et v. Fabron. in vita Leon. X. p. 62. Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 48. &c.

XII. it was at least fortunate for him that some of his adversaries wanted the talents, and others the inclination, to avail themselves of their success. But although Henry VIII. had returned to his own dominions, he avowed his intention of renewing his attack in the ensuing spring with a still more powerful armament, for the equipment of which he had already begun to make preparations. (a) The treaty entered into between the duke de la Tremouille and the Swiss had, in all probability, prevented those formidable adversaries from proceeding directly to Paris, which, after the capture of Dijon, they might have done without difficulty; (b) but Louis could neither discharge the immense sum which the duke had, in his name, stipulated to pay, nor would he relinquish his pretensions to the duchy of Milan. The terms which he proposed to the Swiss, instead of those which had been solemnly agreed upon, tended only still further to exasperate them; and they threatened within a limited time to decapitate the hostages given at Dijon, if the treaty was not punctually fulfilled. These threats they would, in all probability, have carried into execution, had not the hostages effected their escape; but this event, as it increased the resentment of the Swiss, enhanced the dangers of the French monarch, who could only expect the consequences of their ven-

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X.

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A. Pont. I.

Humilia-
tion and ab-
solution of
Louis XII.

(a) Leo X. found no little difficulty in curbing the military ardour of the English monarch, as appears not only from the letter before given, but from a particular exhortation addressed to him on this subject. Appendix, No. LXXXVI.

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 63.

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A. Pont. I.

geance in a still more formidable attack. His apprehensions were further excited by the interception of a letter from Ferdinand of Aragon to his envoy at the imperial court, in which he proposed that the duchy of Milan should be seized upon, and the sovereignty vested in Ferdinand, the younger brother of the archduke Charles, afterwards Charles V. which would give the united houses of Austria and Spain a decided ascendancy in Italy ; (a) that Maximilian might then assume the pontifical throne, as it had always been his wish to do, and resign to his grandson Charles the imperial crown ; and although Ferdinand prudently observed, that time and opportunity would be requisite to carry these designs into effect, yet Louis could not contemplate without serious alarm a project which was intended to exclude him from all further interference in the affairs of Italy, and reduce him to the rank of a subordinate power. In addition to the vexations which surrounded him as to his temporal concerns, he still laboured under the excommunication pronounced against him by Julius II. ; and as his queen, Anne of Bretagne, was a zealous daughter of the church, she was incessant in her representations to the harassed monarch to return to his allegiance to the holy see. (b)

(a) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 65.

(b) “ *L’Esprit du roi se soustenoit contre toutes ces adversitez ; mais il avoit une peine domestique plus grande que celle que luy faisoient tous ses ennemis. C’étoit sa propre femme, qui touchée des scrupules ordinaires à son sexe, ne pouvoit souffrir qu’il fût mal avec le Pape, & qu’il entretint un Concile contre lui. Comme elle luy rompoit perpetuellement la teste sur ces deux pointcs, il étoit souvent contraint, pour paix avoir, d’arrêter ses armes*

Whether, as some historians suppose, it was merely in consequence of these solicitations, and the remorse of his own conscience, or whether, as is more probably the case, he was prompted by the apprehensions which he so justly entertained of his numerous and powerful enemies, he conceived it was now high time to effect a reconciliation with the pope. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and on the sixth day of November, 1513, a treaty was signed at the abbey of Corbey, by which the king agreed to renounce the council of Pisa, and declared his assent to that of the Lateran; promising also to show no favour in future to the council of Pisa, and to expel those who should adhere to it from his dominions. (a) The reconciliation of the French monarch to the church was not, however, without its difficulties, and three cardinals were appointed to consider on the means to be adopted for securing the honour of the king and the dignity of the holy see. Their deliberations were not of long continuance; and in the eighth session of the Lateran council, which was held on the last day of the year 1513, the envoys of the king of France were admitted; who, producing the mandate of their sovereign, renounced, in his name, the proceedings of the council of Pisa, and expressed in ample terms his adherence to that of the Lateran. They also engaged, that six of the French prelates who had been present at the

lorsque ses affaires alloient le mieux," &c. Mezerai, Hist. de Fr. tom. iv. Fabr. in vita Leon. X. not. 29. p. 274. Ligue de Cambr. liv. iv. tom. ii. p. 330.

(a) This treaty, which was countersigned by Bembo, on behalf of the pope, is given in the collection of Du Mont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 175.

CHAP. council of Pisa should proceed to Rome, to make
X. the formal submission of the Gallican church.

A. D. 1513. The humiliation of Louis XII. was now complete ;
A. Æt. 38.
A. Pont. I. and Leo, with the consent of the council, gave him
full absolution for all past offences against the
holy see.

CHAP. XI.

1513—1514.

EXTRAORDINARY depression of polite learning in Rome—State of the Roman Academy—High expectations formed of Leo X.—The Gymnasium or Roman university restored—Leo X. encourages the study of the Greek tongue—Giovanni Lascar—Letter of Leo X. to Marcus Musurus—The Greek Institute founded in Rome—Greek verses of Musurus prefixed to the first Edition of Plato—Musurus appointed archbishop of Malvasia—Dedication by Aldo Manuzio of the works of Plato to Leo X.—Leo grants him the pontifical privilege for publishing the Greek and Roman authors—Greek Press established by Leo X. at Rome, and works there published—Agostino Chisi a merchant at Rome and a promoter of Literature—Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo—Greek Press of Zaccaria Calliergo—Greek Literature promoted by learned Italians—Varino Camerti—His Thesaurus Cornucopiæ—Is appointed librarian to the Medici family and bishop of Nocera—His Apophthegms—His Greek Dictionary under the name of Phavorinus—Scipione For-teguerra, called Carteromachus—Urbano Bolzanio—Publishes the first grammatical rules in Latin for the Greek language—Leo obtains a more complete copy of the works of Tacitus—Employs Beroaldo to publish it—The work pirated by Minuziano of Milan—Rise of the study of Oriental literature—Teseo Ambrogio appointed by Leo X. professor of the eastern tongues in Bologna—His elementary work on the Chaldean and other languages—Agostino Giustiniano publishes a Polyglot edition of the Psalter—Great Complutensian Polyglot of cardinal Ximenes dedicated to Leo X.—Leo directs the translation of the scriptures by Pagnini to be published at his expense—Encourages researches for eastern manuscripts.

CHAPTER XI.

OF the state of literature in Rome at the time when Leo X. then cardinal de' Medici, first took up his residence in that city, some account has already been given in a former part of this work. (*a*) Since that period upwards of twenty years had elapsed without affording any striking symptoms of improvement. Whoever takes a retrospect of the momentous events which had occurred during that interval, will be at no loss to account for that neglect of liberal studies which was apparent in some degree throughout the whole extent of Italy, but was particularly observable at Rome. The descent of Charles VIII. the contests between the French and Spanish monarchs for the crown of Naples, the various irruptions of Louis XII. for the recovery of Milan, the restless ambition of Alexander VI. and the martial ferocity of Julius II. had concurred to distract the attention, to oppress the faculties, and to engage in political intrigues or in military pursuits, those talents which might otherwise have been devoted to better purposes. Amidst the sacking of cities, the downfall of states, the extinction or the exile of powerful families and distinguished patrons of literature, and all the horrors of domestic war, was it possi-

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Extraordi-
nary depres-
sion of po-
lite learning
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ble for the sciences, the muses, and the arts, to pursue their peaceable and elegant avocations?

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A. Æt. 38.

A. Pont. I.

Whilst thundering Ætna rolls his floods of flame,
Shall Daphne crop the flowers by Arethusa's stream? (a)

State of the
Roman
academy.

The indefatigable researches of the Italian scholars have indeed discovered some slight traces of that literary association, first formed by Pomponius Lætus, (b) and which, after having been dispersed by the barbarity of Paul II. had again been restored by the laudable exertions of Angelo Collocci, Paolo Cortese, Jacopo Sadoleti, the younger Beroaldo, and a few other learned men. It appears that these persons met together at stated times, that they elected a dictator, and amused themselves with literary pursuits; but they seem to have devoted their leisure hours rather to pleasure than to improvement. Their talents were employed chiefly on ludicrous subjects, (c) and the muses to whom they paid

(a) "Quand sur les champs de Siracuse
Un Volcan vient au loin, d'exercer ses fureurs,
Aux bords désolés d'Aréthuse
Daphné cherche t'elle des fleurs?" *Gresset.*

(b) Count Bossi professes to differ from me in opinion, as to the absolute extinction (*l'assoluto decadimento*) of learning in Rome at the period referred to; and has cited many instances of persons eminent for their learning who lived in these turbulent times: but I have made no such assertion; on the contrary I have here stated that the cause of literature was supported, to a certain extent, by several men of ability, although their pursuits were not of the highest order. Of several of these Count Bossi has added some interesting anecdotes. *v. Ital. ed.* vol. iv. pp. 91, 158, 159. vol. xii. p. 218.*

(c) Fedro Inghirami, one of the members of this learned body, writes thus, in the year 1506, to his friend Andrea Umiliato:

their devotions were too often selected from the courtezans of Rome: (a) The patronage afforded to these studies by Leo X. whilst he was yet a cardinal, was of a much more respectable and effectual nature. His house, which was situated in the *Forum Agonale*, now called the *Piazza Na-*

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“ — advola obsecro et accurre, si vis ridere quantum et Demeritus numquam risit. *Savoja* unguenta tractat et Cyprium pulverem; pulverem, inquam, Cyprium et unguenta tractat *Savoja*. Qui antea bubulcitari tantum solebat, bubus equisque stipatus vadebat, nunc delicatus Myropolas adit, deque odoribus disputat. Nam quid ego narrem tibi Hispanicas manicas, Gallicas vestes, Germanas soleas,” &c. *Ap. Tirab. Stor. Let. Ital.* vol. vii. p. i. p. 127.

(a) Among these, the most distinguished was the beautiful Imperia, so frequently celebrated in the Latin odes of Beroaldo the younger, and in the verses of Sadoleti. Of the splendor with which she received her visitors, an ample account is given by Bandello in his novels. Such was the elegance of her apartments, that when the ambassador of the Spanish monarch paid her a visit, he turned round and spat in the face of one of his servants, excusing himself by observing that it was the only place he could find fit for the purpose. *v. Bandello*, par. iii. nov. 42. Her toilet was surrounded with books, both in Italian and Latin, and she also amused herself in writing poetry, in the study of which she was a disciple of Niccolò Campano, called *Strascino*, who was probably indebted to her for the subject of one of his poems, “*Sopra il male incognito*.” *v. Life of Lorenzo de’ Medici*, vol. ii. p. 294, 4to. ed. She died in the year 1511, at the age of twenty-six, and was allowed to be buried in consecrated ground, in the chapel of S. Gregoria, with the following epitaph:

*Imperia, Cortisana Romana, quæ digna tanto nomine, raræ
inter homines formæ Specimen dedit. Vixit annos xxvi. dies xii.
Obiit 1511. die 15 Augusti.*

She left a daughter, who redeemed her name from disgrace by a life of unimpeachable modesty, and who destroyed herself by poison, to avoid the licentious attempts of the cardinal Petrucci. *v. Colocci, Poesie Ital.* p. 29. *Note. Ed. Jesi. 1772.*

CHAP. *vona*, was the constant resort of all those who to
 XI. the honours of their rank united any pretensions
 A. D. 1513. to literary acquirements. It is not therefore sur-
 A. Æt. 38. prising, that on his elevation to the pontificate,
 A. Pont. I. those men of talents and learning who had been
 Expecta- accustomed to share his favour and to partake of
 tions formed of Leo. his bounty, should consider this event as the har-
 binger of general prosperity, and the opening of a
 better age. This exultation frequently burst forth
 in their writings; and Leo found himself com-
 mended on every hand for labours which he had
 yet to perform.

— Now comes the happier age, so long foretold,
 When the true Pastor guards his favour'd fold;
 Soon shall the streams with honied sweetness flow,
 And truth and justice fix their seats below;
 Retiring Mars his dreadful anger cease,
 And all the world be hush'd in lasting peace. (*a*)

The high expectations formed of him in the
 commencement of his pontificate are yet more
 fully expressed by another of his contemporaries,
 who might on this occasion have rejoiced in the
 completion of his own auguries.

— for now, when all the earth
 Boasts none more great, more excellent than thee,
 Be it thy task to watch with ceaseless care
 O'er all the race of man; by holy laws

(*a*) “ Hunc ego crediderim verum fore tempore nostro
 Pastorem; elegit Juppiter arce sua.
 Flumina melle fluent, descendet ab æthere Virgo,
 Cumque sua populis jura sorore dabit.
 Principe quo, longa Mavors formidine terras
 Solvet, et in toto pax erit orbe diu.”

L. Parmenius Genesisius, de Leone X. Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. vol.
v. p. 282.

To sanction virtue ; and by just rewards
 Raise drooping merit and ingenuous worth.
 Nor these alone, but mightier tasks than these,
 Await thee. Soon the cheering smile of peace
 Shall glad the nations. Kings, and mighty lords,
 And warlike leaders, cease their hostile ire,
 And at thy bidding join their willing hands. (a)

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The number and importunity of these writers, who intruded upon him at every step with their officious suggestions, became indeed so remarkable, as to give occasion to compare them to apes, who imagined they could instruct or amuse the lion ; a charge which one of their brethren has thus acknowledged :

For oft as we, the muses' faithful train,
 Strive with our songs to sooth thy hours of pain ;
 What, shall he ne'er, they cry, their teasing scape ?
 The lion still tormented by the ape !
 From that blest day when first his glory rose,
 They haunt his footsteps whereso'er he goes ;
 At home, abroad, within his halls immured,
 Nor in his chamber nor his bed secured ;
 Debarr'd alike with lonely step to rove
 Where spreads the prospect or where glooms the grove.
 —Whether, with mighty cares of state opprest,
 The fate of Nations labours in his breast,
 Or, wearied with the toils which grandeur knows,
 He takes his meal or sinks in bland repose ;

(a) *Joannis Francisci Philomusi, Exultatio in creatione Leonis*
 X. &c. Appendix, No. LXXXVII.

Mr. Henke has observed that this poem breathes a noble sentiment, which rises far above the Italian spirit of the times, and which perhaps even the pope himself was not prepared for. It augurs from his elevation not only the most glorious results to the arts, but also (and that with the most impressive earnestness) to morals and religion. *Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 233.

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Yet still they follow, exquisite to vex,
 His patience weary and his thoughts perplex ;
 So, where the monarch of the wood resorts,
 In awkward attitudes the monkey sports ;
 Turns his bare haunch and twirls his tail on high,
 More pertinacious than a teasing fly.

The poet then adverts to the conduct of Leo towards the sons of the muses.

But more indulgent thou their labours view,
 And like the lion bear the trifling crew.

He afterwards proceeds in a higher strain to repel the censure, and to justify the attention paid by the poets to the conduct of the pontiff.

Yes, all imports us that thy mind revolves ;
 Thy secret counsels, and thy deep resolves,
 To heal the wounds that Europe now deplores,
 And turn the tide of war on Turkey's shores ;
 Nor these alone, but bolder themes, inspire
 The daring bard that glows with heavenly fire. (a)

This apology seems to have been admitted by the pontiff; who, if he was not incited to the laudable acts which distinguish his pontificate by the exhortations of his literary admirers, was neither displeased with the high expectations which had been formed of him, nor inattentive in availing himself of every opportunity to fulfil them.

Among the establishments which had been formed in Rome for the promotion of more serious studies, the *Gymnasium*, or college, yet subsisted, although in a depressed and languid state, in consequence of the turbulent events of the preceding

(a) *Jo. Pierii Valeriani, ad Leonem X. Appendix, No. LXXXVIII.*

pontificate. This institution was founded by Eugenius IV. (a) but the more modern and convenient building which was appropriated to its use was erected by Alexander VI. who had also called to Rome the most distinguished professors in Italy, had rewarded them with liberal salaries, and regulated the discipline of the place so as to render it of essential service to the promotion of liberal studies. (b) The revenues destined by Alexander for the support of this institution are said to have arisen from the impositions charged upon the Jews within the ecclesiastical states; but from whatever source they were derived, they had been perverted during the pontificate of Julius II. to the purposes of contention and warfare. No sooner, however, was Leo seated in the pon-

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The Gymnasium or Roman university restored.

(a) “ —Gymnasium media spectatur in urbe,
Musarum studiis, et pubertate decorum,
Eugenii quarti auspiciis et munere primum
Fundatum.”

Andr. Fulvius, de Antiquitatibus Urbis. Carm. illust. Poet. Ital.
tom. v. p. 229.

“ The first plan of this Gymnasium, or Archygynasium, was however in contemplation by Boniface VIII. as his bull of 1303, in *Cherubini, Bullar.* tom. i. p. 160, shews. The fullest account of this foundation is given by Jos. Carafa, *de Gymnasio Romano, et de ejus Professorib. &c. Rom.* 1751, vol. i. ii. 4to. by Kürzer, *Paulini a S. Josepho Orat. de Archygy. Rom.* printed at Rome, 1727, and at Leipsig, 1728.” (*Note of Mr. Henke, Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 107.)

(b) “ Hæc loca Alexander renovavit Sextus, et auxit
Atria porticibus designans ampla superbis,
Atque academiacas priscorum more diætas,
Et subjecta suis subsellia docta Cathedris;
Pallas ubi, et Musæ custode sub Hercule florent,
Cecropiis quondam veluti florebant Athenis.”

Andr. Fulv. ut sup.

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tifical chair, than this seminary became one of the chief objects of his attention. The revenues of the college were restored, and the chairs of its professors were filled with the most eminent scholars, who were attracted from every part of Europe by the reputation and liberality of the pontiff. (a) From the original roll of the Roman academy, as it existed in 1514, being the year after its re-establishment by Leo X. (b) it appears that

- (a) “ ——— inceptumque opus intermissaque moles,
Et loca Gymnasii perfecto fine jubentur
Protinus absolvi, divo imperitante LEONE.
Unde Dea, accepti doni non immemor ampli,
Excitat ingenia ad Musarum præmia sacra,
Et totas Heliconis aquas ex fonte perenni,
Fluminibus magnis, et laxis Pallas habenis
Præcipit Aonias, concusso monte, sorores
Pandere, et hauriri sitientibus ubere potu ;
Unde professores quæsitos Roma per orbem
Artibus ingenuis monstrandis, protulit aptos
Musarum auspiciis, et Apollinis omine fausto.”

And. Fulv. de antiquit. urbis. Ed. Rom. 1513.

The bull of establishment issued by Leo X. anno 1513, is given by Cherubini, vol. i. p. 404. (*Henke, Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 108.*)

(b) This singular document, which yet remains, is elegantly written on vellum, and highly ornamented with the papal arms, and allegorical figures of the sciences and arts. Its contents were given to the public in the year 1797, by the learned Abate Gaetano Marini, keeper of the archives in the castle of S. Angelo, who has accompanied it with a brief account of the re-establishment of the Roman academy, and with historical and biographical notices of the professors. The reader may consult the roll and lists of the professors in the Appendix, No. LXXXIX ; but for a more particular account of many of the persons there mentioned, I am compelled, by the limits of this work, to refer to the before-mentioned publication, entitled, *Lettera dell' Abate Gaetano Marini al chiarissimo Monsignor Giuseppe Muti Papazurri già Casali, nella quale s' illustra il Ruolo de' professori dell' Archiginnasio Romano per*

the number of professors who received a remuneration from the bounty of the pontiff, and many of whom enjoyed considerable salaries, amounted to nearly one hundred; that they read lectures in theology, in the civil and canon law, in medicine, in moral philosophy, in logic, in rhetoric, and in mathematics; and that there was even a professor of botany and the medical science of plants, which may perhaps be with confidence considered as the earliest instance of a public establishment for that purpose. (a) Among these professors we find the names of many persons of great eminence in the annals of literature, and whose merits will necessarily occur to our future notice. Having thus supplied the Roman college with proper instructors, the next care of the pontiff was to render the benefits to be derived from it as general and extensive as possible; "lest," as he expressed it, "there should at times be more lecturers than hearers." He therefore restored to the pupils their ancient privileges and immunities; he ordered that the lectures should be read both in the morning and evening, and should not be interrupted on account of the numerous festivals of the Roman church. (b) The assiduity with which he promoted this great establishment, not only at this period, but throughout his whole pontificate, suf-

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l' anno MDXIV. In Roma, presso Michele Puccinelli a Tor Sanguigna. 1797.

(a) In admitting that this was probably the *first public establishment* for botanical pursuits, Count Bossi has cited several works on that subject which had before been published, and to which considerable additions might be made. *Ital. ed. vol. iv. p. 96.* Note (a).*

(b) *Marini, Lettera, ut sup. p. 7.*

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ficiently appears from the numerous letters addressed by him to the most distinguished scholars of the time, inviting their assistance, and requesting them to take up their residence at Rome. (a) In a bull, dated in the year 1514, he has himself recapitulated, with laudable exultation, the important services rendered to the cause of literature and science by the renovation of this institution. (b) "Having lately," says he, "been called by divine Providence to the office of supreme pontiff, and having restored to our beloved subjects their rights, we have, among other things, re-granted to the Roman university those revenues which had for many years been perverted to other purposes. And to the end that the city of Rome may assume that superiority over the rest of the world in literary studies which she already enjoys in other respects, we have, from different parts, obtained the assistance of men acquainted with every branch of learning, whom we have appointed professors; on which account, even in the first year of our

(a) *Bembi, Epist. nomine Leon. X. lib. ix. p. 39, &c. Marini, Lettera, ut sup. p. 110.*

(b) "Sane nuper ad summum pontificatum divina providentia cum assumpti fuisset, et restitutis in pristinis juribus dilectis filiis populo Romano, inter alia vectigal Gymnasii Romani multis ante annis ad alios usus distractum, eisdem restituisset; ut urbs Roma ita in re literaria, sicut in ceteris rebus, totius orbis caput esset, procuravimus, accersitis ex diversis locis ad proficendum in Gymnasio prædicto viris in omni doctrinarum genere præclarissimis; quo factum est, ut præcedenti anno pontificatus nostri primo, talis studentium numerus, ad eandem urbem conflueret, ut jam Gymnasium Romanum inter omnia alia totius Italiæ principatum facile obtenturum videatur." *P. Caraffa de Gymnas. Rom. vol. i. p. 201. ap. Tirab. Stor. della Lett. Ital. 7. part i. p. 111. et v. Fabr. in vita Leon. X. p. 71.*

pontificate, such numbers of students have resorted to this place, that the university of Rome is likely soon to be held in higher estimation than any other in Italy."

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But amidst the efforts of Leo for the improvement of letters and of science, his attention was, perhaps, yet more particularly turned towards the promotion of the study of the Greek tongue; without which he was convinced, in the language of one of his contemporaries, that the Romans themselves would not have had any learning to boast of. (a) In order to give new vigour to this study, which had long languished for want of encouragement, he determined to avail himself of the services of Giovanni Lascar, a noble and learned Greek, who had in his youth been driven from his country by the progress of the Turkish arms, and had been indebted to the bounty of the cardinal Bessarion for his education and consequent eminence. Having made a considerable proficiency at the university of Padua, Lascar had been commissioned by Lorenzo de' Medici to travel to Greece, with the view of collecting ancient manuscripts; for which purpose he took two journeys, in the latter of which he appears to have been very successful. (b) After the death of Lorenzo, and the expulsion of his surviving family from Florence, Lascar accompanied Charles VIII. into France, where he still continued to inculcate the principles of Grecian literature, and where the

Leo encourages
the study of
the Greek
tongue.

Giovanni
Lascar.

(a) "Nisi Literæ Græcæ essent, Latini nihil eruditionis haberent." *Codri Urcei Serm.* iii. *in oper.* p. 92.

(b) *Hodius de Græc. Illust.* p. 249. *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, vol. ii. p. 61, 4to. ed.

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celebrated Budæus was glad to avail himself of his instructions. (a) On the death of that monarch, he obtained in an eminent degree the confidence of his successor, Louis XII. who sent him in the year 1503 as his ambassador to the state of Venice, in which capacity he remained there until the year 1508. The contests which arose between Louis XII. and the Venetians, in consequence of the memorable league of Cambray, terminated his diplomatic functions; but it is conjectured that Lascar still resided at Venice, although in a private capacity; and it is certain, that at this place he had the credit of instructing the celebrated Erasmus. On the elevation of Leo to the pontificate, Lascar wrote to congratulate him, and immediately afterwards quitted Venice to pay him a visit at Rome. On his way, he received a letter from the pope, assuring him of his friendship, and of his constant attention to the promotion of those studies by which Lascar was himself so eminently distinguished. (b) After deliberating with Lascar on the means to be adopted for facilitating and extending the study of the Greek tongue, Leo formed the design of inviting a number of young and noble Greeks to quit their country and take up their residence under his protection at Rome; where, by the directions of Lascar, they were not only to prosecute the study of their native tongue, but to be instructed also in Latin literature. On the recommendation of Lascar, (c) the pontiff also

(a) *Hodius de Græc. Illust.* p. 251.

(b) *v.* Appendix, No. XC.

(c) Mr. Warton informs us, on the authority of Jovius, that Lascar "made a voyage into Greece, by command of Leo X. and

addressed himself on this occasion to Marcus Musurus, one of the disciples of Lascar, who, after having taught in the university of Padua, had chosen his residence at Venice. (a) The letter written by Leo on this occasion, whilst it sufficiently explains the object which he had in view, will shew with what ardour he engaged in its prosecution.

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A. Pont. I.

LEO X. TO MARCUS MUSURUS.

“ Having a most earnest desire to promote the study of the Greek language and of Grecian literature, which are now almost extinct, and to encourage the liberal arts as far as lies in my power, and being well convinced of your great learning and singular judgment, I request that you will take the trouble of inviting from Greece ten young men, or as many more as you may think proper, of good education and virtuous disposition; who may compose a seminary of liberal studies, and from whom the Italians may derive the proper use and knowledge of the Greek tongue. On this subject you will be more fully instructed by Giovanni Lascar, whose virtues and learning have deservedly

Letter of
Leo X. to
Musurus.

brought with him some Greek boys, who were to be educated in the college which that pope had founded on Mount Quirinal; and who were intended to propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the Greek tongue.” *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. ii. p. 429, note (y). But Mr. Warton has either mistaken or been misled by his authority, as Lascar continued to superintend the Greek establishment at Rome till the year 1518, when he returned, probably in a public character, to France.

(a) He began to teach publicly at Padua, in the year 1503, as appears by the ducal decree, published by Agostini in his *Notizie di Batt. Egnazio, Calogeri*; *Opuscoli*, vol. xxxiii. p. 25.

CHAP. rendered him dear to me. I have a confidence
 XI. also, that from the respect and kindness which you
 A. D. 1513. have already shewn me, you will apply with the
 A. Æt. 38. utmost diligence to effect what may seem to you
 A. Pont. I. to be necessary for accomplishing the purposes
 which I have in view." *Dated viii. Id. Aug.*
 1513. (a)

The Greek
 institute
 founded in
 Rome.

For the accommodation of these illustrious
 strangers, Leo purchased from the cardinal of
 Sion his residence on the Esquilian hill, (b) which
 he converted into an academy for the study of
 Grecian literature, and of which he intrusted the
 chief direction to Lascar, (c) to whom he assigned
 a liberal pension. This establishment is frequently
 adverted to in terms of high commendation by the
 writers of this period. (d)

(a) *Bemb. Epist. in nom. Leon. X. lib. iv. ep. 8.*

(b) *Fabron. in vita Leon. p. 68.*

(c) *Budæi Ep. ap. Maittaire Annal. Typogr. vol. i. p. 107.*
Hodius de Græc. Illustr. p. 251.

(d) Thus Vida, in enumerating the services rendered to litera-
 ture by the family of the Medici :

" Illi etiam Graiæ miserati incommoda gentis,
 Ne Danaûm penitus caderet cum nomine virtus,
 In Latium advectos juvenes, juvenumque magistros,
 Argolicas artes quibus esset cura tueri,
 Securos musas jussere atque otia amare."

Poeticor. lib. i. v. 196.

And Musurus, in his preface to Pausanias, published by Aldo,
 in 1516 :

" Ὡς γὰρ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀποσβεσθῇ τὸ σοζόμενον ἔτι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
 λόγων καί τις λίσαν ἀμυδρὸν ὄν, ἢ κ' ὀλίγες ἔκ τε κρήτης ἔκ τε κορυφῆς καὶ
 τῶν παραθαλασσίων τῆς πελοποννήσου μετηπίμψω νεανίσκους, τῶν μὴτε
 φύσει ἀγενεῶν μὴτ' ὑπὸ χάσματος καὶ νωθρότητος ἐκνεναρκωμένων, ἀλλ'
 ἀγχινίᾳ τε περισήμων καὶ τὸ ταλαίπωρον ἰχόντων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· οἱ νῦν ἐν
 ῥώμῃ μὴτε γίγης μὴτ' ἱματισμοῦ μὴτε τροφῆς ἀπορεῦντες, μὴτε συφιστῶν

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At the very time when Leo requested the assistance of Musurus, for the establishment of his Greek seminary in Rome, that elegant scholar was terminating the first edition, in the original Greek, of the writings of Plato, of which great work, he had, by the desire of Aldo Manuzio, superintended the printing. (a) To this edition he prefixed a copy of Greek verses, which are so extremely applicable to the circumstances of the times and to the character and conduct of the pontiff, that they cannot fail, even in a translation, of throwing additional light on these subjects. (b)

A. D. 1513.
A. Æt. 38.
A. Pont. I.Greek verses
of Mu-
surus pre-
fixed to the
first edition
of Plato.

ἐξηρημένοι τῶν διδάσκειν καὶ βυλομένων καὶ εἰδότην, θαυμαστὸν ὅσον περὶ
ἄμφω προκόπτεισι τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ πάντ' ἀρίστῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ ῥώμῃς ἀρχιερέως
ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ χορηγῶντος."

(a) Entitled, ΑΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ.
OMNIA PLATONIS OPERA.

At the close of this elegant and laborious work is the following Colophon :

ΤΕΛΟΣ.

Ἐνετίησιν ἐτυπώθη παρὰ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄλδον, παλαιοῖς τισὶ καὶ ἀξιο-
πίστοις κεχρημένοι ἀντιγράφοις· χίλιος ᾧ πεντάκοσιος ᾧ τρισκαίδεκάτῳ ἀπὸ
τῆς Θειογονίας ἐν αὐτῷ. Καθ' ὃν ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΜΕΔΙΚΕΥΣ Ὁ ΛΑΥΡΕΝ-
ΤΙΟΥ, καλοῦ πατρὸς καλὸς υἱὸς, τῆς ἁκρας δὴ καὶ παντοκρατορικῆς ἀρ-
χιερατείας ἀξιώθεϊς ἐν ῥώμῃ, Λέων μετωνομάσθη δέκατος· ᾧ πᾶς ὁ χριστώ-
νυμος λεὼς, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, παῖδες, γέροντες εἰον πολυετῇ καὶ πάντα
συνέχονται τ' ἀγαθὰ· πάντες γὰρ ἐλπίζουσιν αὐτὸν εἰρηνοποιοῖν μὲν, καὶ
πολέμων εἶς νῦν ἅπαντα πυρπολεῖται κατασβεσῆναι· τῆς δ' ἀληθινῆς παι-
δείας καὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν λόγων ἀνακαινιστὴν καὶ τῆς μὲν ἰταλίας νοσοῦσης
καὶ γαστριζύσης ἰατρὸν· αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἑλλάδος πάλαι καταδεδωλημένης
ἐλευθερωτὴν, καὶ ὅλως τῷ εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργέτην ἔσσεσθαι καὶ διορ-
θωτὴν.

(b) Of these verses, a correct and handsome edition was published at Cambridge, in 1797, by Samuel Butler, A. B. fellow of St. John's College, with various illustrations, and a Latin translation, by Zanobio Acciajuoli. An English translation of them will be found in the Appendix to the present volume, No. XCI.

CHAP.
XI.A. D. 1513.
A. Æt. 38.
A. Pont. I.Musurus
appointed
archbishop
of Malvasia.

The result of these verses, (a) and of the assiduity of Musurus in executing the commission intrusted to him by the pope, was manifested in his appointment to the archbishoprick of Malvasia in the Morea (b) which had lately become vacant by the death of Manilius Rhallus, another learned Greek, on whom Leo had before conferred that

(a) "Sed longe excellit Elegia Græca, qua Platonis opera edita ab Aldo MDXIII. præmunivit; partim in Platonis laudes, partim Leoni X. offerens istam editionem, illiusque patrociniū ambiens, et partim illum ad bellum Turcicum excitans. Cujus carminis gratia maxime creditur factus fuisse archiepiscopus." *Hod. de Græc. illustr.* p. 300.

(b) Jovius, or his translator, informs us that Musurus was appointed archbishop of Ragusa. *Iscritt.* p. 62. Into which error he was probably led by not being aware that there are two places in Europe called, in Latin, *Epidaurus*; viz. *Ragusa* in Dalmatia, and *Malvasia* in the Morea; of the latter of which Musurus was archbishop. The see of Ragusa was at this time filled by Giovanni de Volterra. v. *Agostini, Notizie di Batt. Egnazio, ap. Calogerà Opusc.* vol. xxxiii. p. 23. Tiraboschi places the promotion of Musurus about 1517, adding, that he enjoyed his dignity but a short time, having died in the autumn of the same year. *Storia della Lett. Ital.* vol. vii. par. i. p. 424. It is however certain, that the promotion of Musurus took place in or before the year 1516, as appears from the preface to the Aldine edition of Pausanias, published in the last-mentioned year: "Hæc autem a nobis præstari tibi potuerunt, suasore adjutoreque M. Musuro; quem nuper heroicarum literarum decus, Venetiis propagantem Græciæ priscis autoribus partim illustri juventuti enarrandis non sine laude, partim emendatione castigationeque in pristinum nitorem, quoad ejus fieri poterat, restituendis, Leo X. PONT. OPT. MAX. sponte sua, nihil tale cogitantem, admirabili consensu S. S. cardinalium in archiepiscopalem dignitatem evexit. Quæ res ut non mediocrem sanctissimo pastori laudem peperit, ita literatis ad bene sperandum certissimum signum erexit." That he did not long live to enjoy his dignity, may however be conjectured from his epitaph at Rome:

MUSURE, O MANSURE PARUM, PROPERATA TULISTI
PRÆMIA; NAMQUE CITO TRADITA, RAPTA CITO.

dignity as a reward for his talents and his learning. (a) Nor did Musurus live long to enjoy his honours, having died at Rome in the autumn of the year 1517. It has been asserted, on the authority of Valerianus and Jovius, that his death was occasioned by his regret and vexation at not having been honoured with the purple, as a reward for his literary labours; (b) but there seems to be neither truth nor probability in this opinion; and although the Greek poem of Musurus entitled its author to rank with the most celebrated scholars of the age, (c) yet the munificence of the pope seems not to have been inferior to the pretensions of the poet. In fact, those writers, always in search of the marvellous, are frequently obliged to resort to the doubtful or the false in order to complete their literary wonders; which, if true, would be sufficient to deter posterity from those studies, that according to their representation can only

CHAP.
XI.

A. D. 1513.
A. Æt. 38.
A. Pont. 1.

(a) He was a native of Sparta, and had been the friend and fellow-student of Marullus at Naples, whom he also emulated in the composition of Latin epigrams: "—uterque epigrammatum Poeta," says Giraldi, "sed Rhallus Marullus cultior argutiorque, Marullo Rhallus fortunatior, quippe qui a Leone X. his mensibus Cretensium sit pontificatu honestatus." *Gir. de Poet. suor. temp.* Politiano denominates him "Græcus homo sed latinis literis adprime excultus." *Miscel. c. lxxiii. Hodius, de Græc. illust. p. 293.*

(b) *Valer. de Literat. infel. lib. i. p. 16. Jovius, in Jecritt. p. 63.*

(c) *Jovius, ubi sup.* Erasmus has noticed the great acquirements of Musurus in very favourable terms: "*Musurus autem, ante senectutem periit, posteaquam ex benignitate Leonis cœperat esse archiepiscopus. Vir natione Græcus, nimirum Cretensis: sed Latinæ linguæ usque ad miraculum doctus, quod vix ulli Græco contigit, præter Theodorum Gazam, & Joannem Lascarem, qui adhuc in vivis est.*" *Erasm. Ep. lib. xxiii. ep. 5.*

CHAP. terminate in disappointment, poverty, and dis-
XI. grace.

A. D. 1513.

A. Aet. 38.

A. Pont. I.

Dedication
of the works
of Plato to
Leo X.

The before-mentioned edition of the works of Plato was published in the month of September, 1513, and is allowed to have conferred great honour, not only on the talents and diligence of Musurus, but on the professional abilities of Aldo ; who has prefixed to it a dedication in prose to Leo X. in which that eminent printer refers in so particular a manner to the character of the pontiff, and to the expectations formed of him at this early period, as to render some parts of it peculiarly interesting.

“ It is an ancient proverb, most holy father,” says he, “ that when the head aches all the members suffer. If this be true as to the chief part of the human body, it is still more so with respect to the manners and conduct of those princes and great men who are, as it were, the head of the people. It has been shewn by long experience, that such as governors are, such are the subjects ; and that whatever the former propose for their imitation, the latter are also eager to copy. On this account your elevation to the pontificate was regarded with such satisfaction by all Christians, that they did not hesitate to congratulate each other on the cessation of those evils by which we have been so long afflicted, and on the return of the blessings which distinguished the golden age. We have, said they, obtained a prince, a pontiff, and a father, such as we have long wished, and of whose assistance, in these times, we stand in the greatest need. This I have

myself heard repeated from all quarters. Nor is their confidence unfounded; for many things concur to shew that you will fulfil their wishes. First, it may truly be observed, that even from your infancy until your arrival at the pontificate, your life and conduct have been pious and irreproachable. In the next place, the family of *Medici* is the nursery of eminent men. From this stock sprung (not to speak of others) your excellent father Lorenzo; a man endowed with such prudence, as whilst he lived to have preserved the tranquillity not only of his own country, but of all Italy. That his life had still been prolonged is my earnest wish; for, in that case, the war which broke out in Italy soon after his death, and which now rages in that country, and in consequence throughout all Europe, would either never have commenced, or if it had commenced, would, as is generally believed, have been speedily extinguished by him, by means of that authority and prudence which he so successfully exerted on many other occasions. O most deplorable event! O loss ever to be regretted and lamented! One consolation, however, remains to us; that as these dreadful commotions began soon after the death of your father, so by the elevation of you, his son, to the dignity of supreme pontiff, they will, by your labours and your care, be extinguished. In the third place, when I advert to your time of life, and consider that in your elevation to the pontificate, when you had not attained your thirty-eighth year, you were preferred to so many respectable fathers and venerable prelates, it seems to me to manifest the divine interposition. For as

CHAP. there was much to be done in correcting the
 XI. affairs of the Christian church and reſorming the
 A. D. 1513. morals of thoſe who reſide in every part of the
 A. Æt. 38. world, the task required a long life; and God has
 A. Pont. I. therefore choſen you, a young man of unimpeach-
 able conduct and morals, to fulfil by long ſervices
 this important task, without being diſheartened
 by labour or diſcouraged by difficulties.

“ Brief are the hours of reſt the man muſt ſhare,
 On whom a nation caſts its weight of care.” (a)

Aldo then adverts to the extension of the Chriſtian territory by the diſcoveries of Emanuel, king of Portugal, in the eaſt; after which, returning to his immediate ſubject, he thus proceeds: “ Nor does leſs honour await you, holy father, from the reſtoration of literature and the ſupplying learned men of the preſent and future ages with valuable books for the promotion of liberal arts and diſcipline. This has in former times been attempted by many, not only among the Greeks and Latins, but in other nations; and the good effects of their labours have ſecured immortality to their names. It has alſo been done in later days, both by thoſe in private ſtations and by ſupreme pontiffs and illuſtrious ſovereigns. Not to refer to others, how greatly was literature promoted by the labour of Nicholas V.! How greatly, too, by your father, Lorenzo! By whoſe aſſiduity, had they enjoyed a longer life, many works would certainly have been preſerved which are now loſt, and thoſe which we poſſeſs would have been rendered much more correct. It remains, therefore, for you,

(a) Οὐ χεὶρ παννύχιον εὖδειν βεληφόρον ἄνδρα,

ᾧ λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφαται, καὶ τόσσα μέμλεα.

1A. B. 28.

CHAP.
XI.A. D. 1513.
A. Æt. 38.
A. Pont. I.

the great successor of the one, and the worthy son of the other, to complete that which they were, by a premature death, prevented from accomplishing." This excellent and indefatigable artist then refers to his own labours. "This stone," says he, "I have long endeavoured to roll; in which attempt I seem to myself another Sisyphus; not having yet been able to reach the top of the hill. Some learned men consider me, indeed, rather as a Hercules; because, unmindful of difficulties and dangers, I have rendered greater services to the cause of letters than any other person for many ages past. This has so far entitled me to their esteem, that, both in person and by letter, they almost weary me with their commendations; *sed non ego credulus illis*; nor in truth have I ever yet published a book which has pleased myself. Such is the regard which I bear to literature, that I wish to render those books which are intended for the use of the learned, not only as correct but as beautiful as possible. On this account if there be an error, although ever so trivial, occasioned by my own oversight or by that of those who assist me in the task of correction, although *opere in magno fas est obrepere somnum*, for these works are not the labour of a day but of many years without rest or intermission, yet so greatly do I regret these errors that I would gladly expunge each of them at the expense of a piece of gold." (a)

Leo was neither unacquainted with the merits of Aldo, nor insensible to his commendations; the former of which he acknowledged, and the latter

(a) The reader may consult the dedication, as given entire from the original edition, in the Appendix, No. XCII.

CHAP. XI. of which he repaid, by a papal bull, bearing date the twenty-eighth day of November, 1513. He there notices the strenuous exertions and great expenses of Aldo, during many years, in the cause of literature; particularly in the printing Greek and Latin books with metal types, which he observes are so elegantly executed as to appear to be written with a pen. He then grants to him an exclusive privilege for fifteen years, of reprinting and publishing all Greek and Latin books which he had already printed or might afterwards print, in types discovered by himself, as well as for the use of the *cursive*, or *Italic* type, of which he was the inventor. These concessions he secures to him by denouncing not only heavy pecuniary penalties, but also the sentence of excommunication against all such as should encroach upon his privileges; recommending to him, however, to sell his books at a reasonable price, of which he declares that he has the fullest confidence from the integrity and obedience of the printer. (*a*)

A. D. 1513.
A. Æt. 38.
A. Pont. I.
Leo grants
to Aldo
privilege of
publishing
the Greek
and Roman
authors.

The restoration of the Roman Academy and the institution of the Greek Seminary in Rome, speedily led the way to the establishment of a press for printing Greek books in that city; the superinten-

(*a*) Fabroni, after noticing this privilege granted by Leo to Aldo, adds, "Ut vero gratum animum suum Aldus Pontifici declararet, eidem nuncupavit editionem Platonis, etc." From which it would seem as if the dedication of Plato to Leo X. was addressed to him by Aldus, in consequence of this favour; the reverse of which seems however to have been the fact, as the dedication bears date in September, and the privilege in November, 1513. This privilege was published by Aldo in his edition of the Commentaries of Nicolo Perotti, entitled CORNUCOPIÆ. Ven. 1513. fol. from which it is given in the Appendix, No. XCIII.

dence of which was also intrusted to Lascar, who himself corrected the works which issued from it. His abilities in this province had already been sufficiently evinced by his edition of the Greek *Anthologia*, printed in capital letters at Florence in the year 1494, and inscribed by him to Piero de' Medici, and by that of Callimachus, (a) printed in capitals at the same place and most probably about the same period. It has also been conjectured, that for several other works which about the same time issued from the press of Lorenzo Francesco de Alopa, the world is indebted to the industry of the same distinguished scholar. (b) As the Roman press was more particularly intended to promote the objects of the Greek seminary, and as the works of Homer, which had been splendidly published at Florence in the year 1488, were unaccompanied by any commentary, it was thought expedient to print the ancient Greek Scholia on that first of poets, which was accordingly published in

CHAP.
XI.

A. D. 1514.
A. Æt. 39.
A. Pont. 11.

Greek press
established
by Leo X.
at Rome,
and works
there pub-
lished.

(a) Count Bossi has noticed a mistake in the French translation of the present work, where the edition in capital letters of the Greek Poet, CALLIMACHUS, is stated to be an edition of the works of *Callimachus Experiens*, a Roman scholar of the fifteenth century, of whom some account is given in the present work (v. ante, vol. i. p. 50. et seq.). I have only to add, that the same unaccountable error is continued in the second French edition.*

(b) Of these, Maittaire has enumerated, besides the *Anthologia* and *Callimachus*, an edition of four of the tragedies of Euripides, the *Gnomæ Monostichoi*, and the *Argonautics* of *Apollonius Rhodius*; which are all the works he had met with printed in capitals. *Annal. Typog.* vol. i. p. 101. But it must be observed, that some of them were printed after the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, and when it is probable that Lascar had quitted that city to accompany Charles VIII. on his return to France.

CHAP.
XI.A. D. 1514.
A. Æt. 39.
A. Pont. II.

the year 1517; (a) and was followed in the year 1518 by the Scholia on the tragedies of Sophocles, which then also for the first time issued from the press. (b) In these works the citations from the text are printed in capitals, in order to distinguish them from the comment, and facilitate the use of the books to the pupils. (c)

The efforts of Leo X. for the promotion of liberal studies were emulated by many persons of

(a) This work appeared with the following title, "Lectori. HOMERI INTERPRES PERVETUSTUS, infinitis propemodum malignitate temporum laceratus plagis, Mediceum olim Quirinalis, jam Caballini montis Gymnasium adii; ibique haud parvo negotio in integrum restitutus, purus nitidusque ac mille fratribus auctus matris sacundissimæ chalcographorum artis beneficio in lucem prodeco: parentis generosæ studiorum professionis penetralia reserans. Debes id quoque, lector candide, LEONI X. PONTIFICI MAXIMO, cujus providentia ac benignitate Gymnasium nuper institutum viget, frugisque bonæ testimonium perhilens bona sua studiosis perquam liberaliter impertit."

At the end,

Ἐτυπώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τῷ Κυρίνῳ λόφῳ. Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῷ εὐγενεῖς καὶ σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ, προξένῳ τε τῶν λογίων καὶ κηδεμένος ἀρίστῃ τῷ Κολλοτίῳ τῶν ἀπορρήτων γραμματείῳ τῷ ἄκρῳ ἀρχιερέϊ, κ. τ. λ. *Hodius de Græc. illustr.* p. 254.

This volume is accompanied by a privilege from Leo X. which is given in the Appendix, No. XCIV.

(b) COMMENTARII in septem Tragædias Sophoclis, quæ ex aliis ejus compluribus solæ superfuerunt: opus exactissimum rarissimumque in GYMNASIO MEDICEO Caballini montis a LEONE X. PONTIFICE MAXIMO constituto, recognitum repurgatumque, &c. Besides the before-mentioned works, an edition of Porphyrius was published from the same press, entitled, PORPHYRII OPUSCULA dicuntur LEONIS X. PONTIFICIS MAXIMI beneficio e tenebris eruta, impressaque in GYMNASIO MEDICEO ad Caballinum montem, with other pieces illustrating the writings of Homer. v. *Hod. de Græc. illustr.* p. 256.

(c) *Maittaire, Ann. Typ.* vol. i. p. 101.

rank and opulence; but by no one with greater munificence and success than by a merchant who had for some time resided at Rome, and who deserves more particular commemoration in the annals both of literature and of art than he has hitherto obtained. Agostino *Chisi*, *Chigi*, or *Ghisi*, as he is variously named, was a native of Siena, who having frequent occasion in his mercantile concerns to resort to Rome, at length fixed his abode there and erected for himself a splendid mansion in the *Transtevere*, which he decorated with works in painting and sculpture by the greatest artists of the time. (a) He had long been considered as the wealthiest merchant in Italy, (b) and on the expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples, had advanced for the use of that monarch a considerable sum of money, which, however, there is reason to believe he had not the good fortune to recover. That he carried on an extensive intercourse with foreign parts, may be conjectured from the applications made on his behalf to the French court, for the liberation of certain ships belonging to him, which had been captured during the contests between Louis XII. and Julius II. and detained in the ports of France. (c) On the rejoicings which had taken place on the procession of Leo X. to the Lateran,

CHAP.
XI.

A. D. 1514.
A. Æt. 39.
A. Pont. II.

Agostini
Chigi, a
merchant at
Rome, a
patron of li-
terature and
arts.

(a) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, passim.* This mansion was afterwards purchased by the family of the Farnese, to whom it yet belongs, and is known by the name of the *Farnesina*.

(b) He is denominated, in a Letter from Leonardo da Porto, to Antonio Savorgnano, in the year 1511. "Agostino Ghisi, mercante più ricco, che alcuno altro d'Italia." *Lettere di Principi.* vol. i. p. 6.

(c) *Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 19.

CHAP.
XI.

A. D. 1514.
A. Æt. 39.
A. Pont. II.

Agostino exceeded, in the magnificence and taste of the devices exhibited in honour of the pontiff, every other individual in Rome. A great part of his wealth was supposed to have arisen from his having rented, under Julius II. the mines of salt and of alum belonging to the Roman see. On the elevation of Leo X. the profits of the latter had been granted to Lorenzo, the nephew of the pontiff; but after a long negotiation between him and Agostino, in which the latter appears to have conducted himself with great propriety, and even liberality, the contract with him, as sole vender of this article was renewed. From this period we find him frequently mentioned in the confidential correspondence of the Medici family, as their associate and friend. (a) Of the liberal encouragement which he afforded to the professors of painting, sculpture, and every other branch of art, and of the partiality and attachment with which he was regarded by them, instances will occur to our future notice; but the professors of literature were not without their share of his attention; and whilst Leo X. was employing all his efforts for the restoration of ancient learning, Agostino had devoted himself to the same object in a manner which confers great honour on his memory. Among those learned men whom he had distinguished by his particular favour was Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo, (b) who united to a sound critical judg-

Cornelio
Benigno, of
Viterbo.

(a) *MSS. Florent. v. App. No. XCV.*

(b) "Optime literatus fuit Cornelius Benignus Viterbiensis, neque ipse prospera satis fortuna usus, postea enim quam *Augustinum Gysium*, Senensem, *Macenatem suum*, apud quem in honore fuerat amisit, vitam inde nullo solatio egit." *Valer. de Literator. infel. lib. ii p. 150*, If we may believe this author, who has aspersed or ridiculed

ment an intimate acquaintance with the Greek tongue, and had before joined with a few other eminent scholars in revising and correcting the geographical work of Ptolomæus, which was published at Rome in the year 1507. Under the patronage of Chigi, Cornelio undertook to superintend an edition of the writings of Pindar, accompanied by the Greek Scholia. The printer whose assistance they had recourse to on this occasion was Zaccaria Calliergo, a native of Crete, who had formerly resided at Venice, and had obtained considerable applause by his edition of the great Etymological Dictionary of the Greek language, which he published there by the assistance of Musurus in the year 1499. (a) A printing-press was established in the house of Agostino; and at his expense and by the labour of his learned associates, a fine edition in quarto of the works of Pindar was published in the month of August, 1515, (b) which was allowed to be executed with great accuracy, and as well on account of the beauty of the workmanship as of the Scholia by which it was accompanied, and which were now

CHAP.
XI.

A. D. 1514.
A. Æt. 39.
A. Pont. 11.

Greek press
of Zaccaria
Calliergo.

most of the learned men of his time, Cornelio, at an advanced age, attempted to console himself by paying his addresses to a lady of rank, and being repulsed, died of love! *Ibid.*

(a) *Fabricii Bib. Græc.* vol. x pp. 12, 21.

(b) Under the following title :

ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ,

ΟΔΥΜΠΙΑ.

ΠΥΘΙΑ.

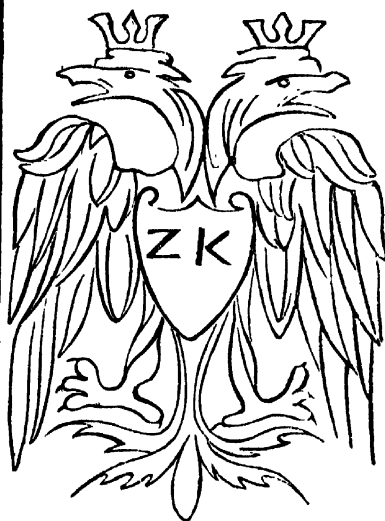
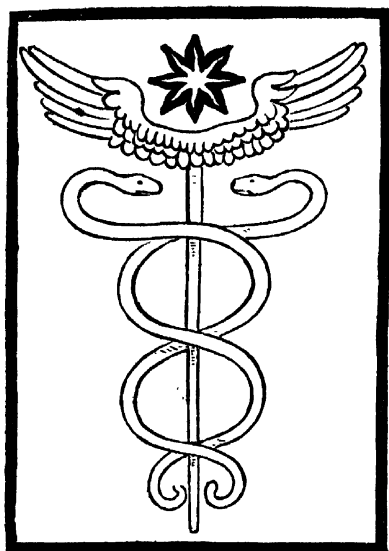
NEMEA.

ΙΣΘΜΙΑ.

Μετὰ ἐξηγήσεως παλαιᾶς πάνυ ὠφελίμης.
καὶ σχολίων ὁμοίων.

CHAP.
XI.A. D. 1514.
A. Æt. 39.
A. Pont. 11.

for the first time printed, is even preferred to the first edition of the same author given by Aldo two years before. By this publication, Agostino anticipated the pontiff in the introduction of the Greek typography, and produced the first book which had been printed in that language at



Impressi Romæ per Zachariam Calergi Cretensem, permissu S. D. N. LEONIS X. PONT. MAX. ea etiam conditione, ut nequis alius per quinquennium hos imprimere, aut venundare libros possit; utque qui secus fecerit, is ab universa Dei Ecclesia toto orbe terrarum expers excommunicatusque censeatur.

At the close of the book is the following Colophon :

Ἡ τῷ Πινδάρῃ περίοδος αὕτη, τῶν Ὀλυμπιονίκων, Πυθιονίκων, Νεμεονίκων καὶ Ἰσθμιονίκων, Ῥώμῃ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, παρὰ τοῖς οἰκίοις τῷ μεγαλοπρεποῦς Αὐγουστίνῃ τῷ κισίῃ ἐκτυπωθεῖσα πέρας εἶληφεν ἤδη σὺν θεῷ· ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτῷ, διὰ παραινέσεως τῷ λογίῃ ἀνδρὸς Κορηλίου Βενίγνῃ τῷ οὐτερβιέως· πόνῳ δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι Ζαχαρίου Καλλιέργου τῷ Κρητὸς· ἔτι τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν σάρκι οἰκονομίας τῷ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, χιλιοσῷ, φ' ἐέ. μηνὸς Αὐγύστου, ιγ'. ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ μεγίστου ἀρχιερέως, ὁσίων οἰκονομῶντος Ῥώμῃ.

Rome. (a) To the same press we are also indebted for a correct edition of the Idyllia and Epigrams of Theocritus, which appeared in the year 1516, (b) and which has been resorted to by a learned modern editor as the most accurate and

CHAP.
XI.

A. D. 1514
A. Æt. 39.
A. Pont. 11

(a) This is commemorated in the following lines addressed by Benedetto Lampridio to the editor.

Λαμπρίδιος, Κορηλίῳ Βενίγῳ τῷ Οὐίτερβιεῖ.
Εὐδοξὸς Θύμβρις, πάρος οὐκ ἐγράσσαεν ἀγαυοὺς
Ἑλλήνων μόχθους χαλκογράφοιςι τύποις.
Ἦν τόδε μὲν τέρας, ἦν καὶ νῆ Δία πᾶλὺ δικαίως.
Ἔργον γὰρ μεγάλη Ῥώμη ἔσκει μέγα.
Νῦν δέ γε τοῦτο τέρας πέσσε, σοῖς, Κορνήλιε, δώροις,
Χ' ἡμῖν γραικολύπου καλλὸς ἐπῆλθε πόνου.
Ὡς δ' ἄλλοις προσφέρει λοιπῶν πόλις αὕτη ἀνασσα,
Οὕτω καὶ βίβλοις φαιδρύτεραις κρατέει.

(b) Under the following title,

ΤΑΔΕ ΕΝΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΑΡΟΥ
ΣΗ ΒΙΒΛΩ.

Θεοκρίτη εἰδυλλία ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα.
Τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιγράμματα ἐνῆα καὶ δέκα.
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πελίκυς καὶ πτερύγιον.
Σχόλια τ' ἅ εἰς αὐτὰ εὐρισκόμενα· ἐκ διὰ
φορῶν ἀντιγράφων, εἰς ἐν συλλεχθέντα.

After which follows the Imperial Eagle, or Impresa of Calliergo, with the letters Z. K.

At the close we read,

Λέοντος Μεγίστου ἀρχιερέως δεκάτη πάπα Ῥώμης ὑσίως αὐτὴν οἰκονομῶντος καὶ τὸ παρὲν βιβλίον ἐν ταύτῃ οὐκ εὐνομίᾳ χωρὶς τυπώθεν, πέρας εἴληφεν ἥδε σὺν θεῷ ἀναλώμασι μὲν τῇ λογίᾳ ἀνδρὸς Κορηλίῳ Βενίγῳ τῷ Οὐίτερβιεῖ· πόνῳ δὲ καὶ διεξίτητι Ζαχαρίᾳ Καλλιέργῳ τῷ κρητὸς. Μηδὲς Ἰωνάριε, ιέ. Χίλιος ᾧ πεντακοσιοσῷ δεκάτῳ ἔκτῳ.

“ Leonis X. Pont. Max. litteris cautum est, ne quis possit tam Pindarum, qui nuper cum commentariis editus est, quam Theocritum hunc impressum, cum additione et commentariis, per decennium imprimere, aut venundare. Sub pœna Excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, refectionis damnorum et expensarum, et amissionis librorum.”

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complete among the early editions of that charming author, and as that on which he chiefly relied for the correction of those errors which the inattention or inaccuracy of subsequent printers had introduced. (a)

(a) This edition of Calliergo is denominated by the celebrated Reiske, in his *Theocritus*, *Vien. et Leips. 1765*, "Editio præstantissima, et exemplar omnium insecutarum: nisi si quid Henricus Stephanus ab hoc exemplo discessit. Explevit enim Zacharias Aldinæ lacunas, et non pauca carmina bucolicorum Græcorum, quæ ad Aldi manus non pervenerant addidit; neque fuit post Zachariam qui Theocritum nova quadam accessione locupletaret," &c. *In præf.* p. 12.

The same learned editor afterwards adds, "Quod si essem copiis et usu vetustorum librorum et peritiæ rerum in literis, seculis xv. et xvi. gestarum instructor, otioque præterea si abundarem, erat hic commodus locus de typographia a Zacharia Calliergo Romæ adornata, et de libris ab eo profectis, item de Cornelio Benigno Viterbiense, qui sumptus huic editioni erogasse dicitur, nec non de numero carminum Theocritiorum disputandi," &c. *Ibid.* p. 14.

It is surprising that the indefatigable Tiraboschi should not only have omitted to notice the efforts of Leo X. and of his coadjutors and competitors, in their attempts to establish a Greek typography in Rome, but should expressly have attributed its introduction to the liberality of the cardinals Marcello Cervini and Alessandro Farnese about the year 1539, whilst such decisive monuments remain of its commencement and success under the auspices of Leo X. at a much earlier period. v. *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital.* vol. vii. par. i. p. 183. *Maittaire, Ann. Typ. in dedicat.*

Several other works printed by Calliergo are enumerated by Count Bossi, *Ital. ed.* vol. iv. p. 115, &c. among which is one intitled, *Præclara dicta Philosophorum Imperatorum Oratorumq. et Poetarum ab Arsenio Archiepiscopo Monembasiæ collecta*, supposed to be printed in 1515, with a dedication to Leo X. of which Count Bossi possesses a splendid copy, which appears to have been presented by the author himself to *Francesco de' Medici*. From this dedication, and the account of this edition given by Bossi, it seems to be a different work from that of which an account is given by *Bandini* in his *Fasciculus Rerum Græcarum Ecclesiasticarum*, *Flor. 1703*, intitled *ARSENII VIOLARIA COMPOSITIO*; which is also a collec-

The labours of Lascar, of Musurus, and other native Greeks, in diffusing the study of the Greek language throughout Italy, were rivalled, if not surpassed, by several learned Italians, who had devoted themselves chiefly to this department of literature, and shared with them in the esteem and the favour of the supreme pontiff. Among these one of the most distinguished was Guarino, a native of Favera in the state of Camerino, whence he assumed the surname of *Favorino*; and having, in compliance with the custom of the Italian scholars, transformed his name of Guarino into the more classical appellation of *Varino*, he sometimes styled himself *Varinus Favorinus*, or *Phavorinus*, and at others *Varino Camerti*. The period of his birth is placed by a well-informed writer some years after the middle of the fifteenth century. (a) In acquiring a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages he had the good fortune to obtain the instructions of Politiano, who has left in one of his letters an honourable testimony of the proficiency of his pupil; (b) of the oppor-

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Greek literature promoted by learned Italians.

Varino
Camerti.

tion by *Arsenius*, of phrases, sentences, &c. from the Greek historians, poets, philosophers, &c. with a dedication in the same language to Leo X. However this may be, I shall here observe, that this collection was begun by *Michael Apostolius*, the father of *Arsenius*, and of another son, *Aristobulus*, who was also a distinguished scholar, and author of one of the Greek epigrams prefixed to the *Thesaurus Cornuconiæ* of *Varinus Camers* hereafter mentioned; and that there exists in the MS. library at Holkham several tracts of *Michael Apostolius* hitherto unpublished, and a collection of forty-five letters addressed to *Gemisthus Pletho*, *Michael Marullus*, *Johannes Argyropylos*, *Manuel Chrysoloras*, *Card. Bessarion*, and other learned men of the time.

(a) *Zeno, Giornale d'Italia*, vol. xix. p. 91.

(b) "Varinus, civis tuus, auditor meus, ad summum linguæ

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saurus Cor-
nucopiæ.

tunities thus afforded him, he availed himself with such diligence, that very few, even of the Greeks themselves, could equal him in the knowledge of that language. During his residence in Florence he appears to have been particularly devoted to the service of the Medici family, and is said, although perhaps erroneously, to have given instructions, as preceptor, to Giovanni de' Medici afterwards Leo X. (a) He also formed an intimacy there with Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. which continued uninterrupted until the death of that pontiff. The first publication of Varino was a collection of grammatical tracts in the Greek language, selected with incredible labour from the remains of thirty-four ancient grammarians, whose names are prefixed to the work. (b) In this com-

utriusque fastigium pleno gradu contendit; sic ut inter doctos jam conspicuus digito monstretur." *Pol. Ep. lib. vii. ep. 2. ad Mac. Mutium.* Zeno, on the authority of Ughelli, and the erroneous construction of the sepulchral inscription of Varino, had asserted, that he also received instructions from Giovanni Lascar. *Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xix. p. 92.* But he afterwards corrected this error. *Ibid.* vol. xx. p. 277.

(a) He is called, in one of the inscriptions on his tomb, Τῆς Μειδικῆς οἰκίας τρέφειμον, which may be admitted as a proof that he was educated in the family of the Medici, but not that he acted as a preceptor there; nor has Zeno, who mentions it, adduced any authority to this effect. *Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xix. p. 92.* It is not indeed probable, that whilst Politiano was yet living, the education of the brothers of the Medici would be transferred from him to one of his pupils.

(b) Under the following title—ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ. Κίρας Ἀμαλθείας καὶ κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος. *THESAURUS CORNUCOPIÆ ET HORTI ADONIDIS*, which the learned printer, in his preface, thus explains: "Ecce habetis opus oppido quam utile et necessarium, quem Κίρας Ἀμαλθείας, quem Κήπους Ἀδώνιδος quem jure *THESAURUM* appellarerim. In eo enim fere omnia reposita sunt quæ desiderare quis

pilation he was assisted by Carlo Antinori, another disciple of Politiano, and even by Politiano himself, who also honoured him with a recommendatory letter and a Greek epigram to be prefixed to the volume. (a) The publication was undertaken by Aldo Manuzio, in which he was assisted by the celebrated Urbano Valeriano, who will occur to our future notice as another successful promoter of Grecian literature. The first edition of this work made its appearance in the year 1496, (b)

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possit ad perfectam absolutamque cognitionem literarum Græcarum, et eorum præcipue quæ leguntur apud poetas; qui verba variis figuris ac linguis, ita sæpe immutant, ut facilius sit Nili caput quam alicujus temporis thema aut principium invenire. Sed hoc libro quam facillima facta sunt omnia," &c. This edition, which Zeno says is "molto rara, e però notissima a pochi," is preceded by the Latin preface of Aldo, after which follows the letter of Politiano before mentioned, which is not found in the general collection of his works. The ensuing page contains four Greek epigrams, in praise of the author, by Politiano, Aristobolo Apostolo, Scipione Carteromaco, and Aldo; and these are succeeded by two epistles in Greek, the one from Carteromaco to Varino, and the other from Varino to Piero de' Medici, as a dedication of the work; which he inscribes to him as an acknowledgment of the benefits which he had himself received, in having been permitted to attend with the young men of the family of Antinori on the instructions of Politiano. At the close of the volume we read,

"Vencitiis in domo Aldi Romani, summa cura laboreque præmagno, Mense Augusto, M. III. D. Ab. ill. Senatu V. concessum est ne quis, &c. ut in ceteris. Vale qui legeris."

(a) "Primus labor in eo (libro)" says Aldo in his preface, "fuit Guarini Camertis, et Caroli Antenorei Florentini; hominum multi studii, ac in Græcarum literarum lectione frequentium.—Hi simul ex Eustathio, Etymologico, et aliis dignis Grammaticis acceperunt hæc canonismata, digessereque per ordinem literarum; nec sine adjumento et consilio Angeli Politiani, viri summo ingenio ac impense docti." *Ald. in præf.*

(b) "Secundus vero labor meus fuit; qui ea omnia recognovi,

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and is justly considered as one of the finest productions of the Aldine press. Succeeding grammarians have adverted to this collection in terms of approbation, and the learned Budæus is said to have made considerable use of it in his commentaries on the Greek tongue. (a) It was however reserved for the indefatigable Henry Stephens to complete the building of which Varino had laid the foundation; which he did in his *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*, which is considered as the most complete body of grammatical knowledge extant in any language, but for the title and idea of which he appears to have been indebted to Varino.

Is appointed
librarian
to the Me-
dici family
and bishop
of Nocera.

Having engaged in an ecclesiastical life, and entered into the order of Benedictines, Varino was in the year 1508, nominated by Julius II. archdeacon of Nocera, (b) and in 1512, was intrusted by Leo X. then the cardinal de' Medici, with the superintendence of his private library, an office which he continued to enjoy after the elevation of that pontiff to the supreme dignity. (c) The collection made by the cardinal in Rome had, in the year 1508, been enriched by the addition of the library formed by the assiduity of his ancestors

non parvo labore, cum iis conferens unde excerpta voluminibus fuerant. Multa enim addidi; plurima immutavi, adjuvante interdum Urbano divi Francisci fratre optimo," &c. *Ibid.*

(a) Zeno, *Giorn. d'Italia*, vol. xix. p. 108.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 93.

(c) "Consulam Varinum Camertem, qui bibliothecæ nostræ præest, hominem literatissimum et humanissimum, aut Scipionem Carteromachum familiarem etiam nostrum." In these words Giuliano de' Medici is represented as addressing his brother Giovanni. v. *Piero Alcyonio de Exsilio*, lib. ii. p. 179. ap. Zeno, *Giorn. d'Ital.* vol. xix. p. 93.

in Florence, which, after the expulsion of his family in 1494, had been sold as confiscated property to the convent of S. Marco for three thousand gold ducats. From the monks of this convent, who either were or pretended to be in want of money to discharge their debts, the cardinal afterwards purchased the same on reasonable terms, and the library was conveyed to Rome, (a) where however it was always kept distinct from that of the Vatican, and was considered as the peculiar collection of the Medici family. The high esteem in which Varino was held by this family sufficiently appears in the secret correspondence which was maintained at this period between Rome and Florence, where he is generally mentioned by the friendly appellation of *Guerino nostro*. In the year 1514, the general of the rich monastery of Vallombrosa, having been accused of misconduct in his office, was committed by order of the pope to the castle of S. Angelo; where, on being threatened

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(a) “Anno 1508, cum propter supradicta ædificia, quæ cuncta impensis Conventus exstructa sunt, Conventus magna æris alieni quantitate gravaretur, et exsolvendi tempus instaret, nec aliunde præberetur facultas, decreverunt tandem Prior et Patres discreti, e nobilissima Mediceorum bibliotheca hujusmodi pecunias extrahere, quam nuper pretio trium millium ducatorum a Syndicis Rebellium, ut supra meminimus, comparaverat Conventus noster, et pro qua plurimos labores Fratres subierant, quam cum R. D. Dominus Joannes Medices, Magni Laurentii filius, et S. R. E. Cardinalis, cujus nuper paterna hæreditas fuerat, recuperare plurimum inhiaret, ipsi de permissione Dominationis Florentinæ vendarent, pretio . . . ducatorum; atque in hunc modum Bibliotheca illa Romam ad ipsum R. Dominum Cardinalem advecta; de quibus in actis hujus conventus plenius et clarius continetur.” *Rob. de Gulliano, S. Marci Canob. alumn. ap. Fabr. vita Leon. X. in not. 19, p. 265.*

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with the question, according to the detestable practice of the times, when the cord was applied to draw him up he confessed that he had been guilty of some errors, one of which, it seems, was his having caused the handle of a razor to be adored as a piece of the wood of the cross. The real offence of the general appears, however, to have consisted in his having been an adversary to the Medici family, and in having selected his orisons from the Canticles in such a manner as to pray for their destruction. (a) His removal from his office was determined upon, and it was proposed that Varino should succeed him in this respectable and lucrative situation; but this not taking effect, the pope in the month of July following nominated Varino to the bishoprick of Nocera, which diocese he governed with great credit during upwards of twenty-three years. (b) In the same correspondence many instances occur of the respect paid to his opinion on subjects of literature, and concerning the manuscripts of ancient authors. (c) The high estimation in which he was held by the pontiff caused him also to be

(a) *MSS. Florent. v. Appendix, No. XCVI.*

(b) *Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xix. p. 95.* Varino died at Nocera, in the year 1537, and was interred in the chapel of S. Venanzio, where a noble monument was erected to his memory, with his statue in a reclined posture. Below are four inscriptions in Greek, one of which consists of the following verses of Politiano, prefixed to the *Thesaurus* of Varino:

Ἑλλάδι τοῖς ἰδίοις πεπλανημένη ἰν λαθερίνοις,
Οὐ μίτον ἀλλὰ βίβλον πρῆθετο δαιδάλειον,
Οὐχ Ἑλλην, Ἰταλὸς δὲ Βαρῖνος· κούτι γε θαῦμα,
Εἴγε νίοι τὴν γρᾶν ἀντὶ πωλαργόμεν.

(c) *MSS. Florent. v. Appendix, No. XCVII.*

frequently resorted to by those who wished to obtain the favours of the Roman see; and it was chiefly by his means that Gianmaria Varani, lord of Camerino, was honoured by the pope with the title of the first duke of that territory, by a decree which passed the consistory on the thirtieth day of April, 1515. (a) The cardinal Innocenzio Cibò was deputed from Rome to place the ducal diadem on the head of Gianmaria, in which embassy he was attended by two bishops, one of whom was Varino, who had the honour of celebrating mass on the occasion and of investing the duke with the insignia of his new rank, as also with those of prefect of Rome and count of Sinigaglia. (b)

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The next publication of Varino was a translation into Latin of the apophthegms of various Greek authors, collected by Stobæus, which he dedicated to Leo X. and printed at Rome in the year 1517. (c) Of this work another edition was published at Rome, in 1519, under a very different title; (d)

His Apoph-
thegms.

(a) On this occasion, Varani struck a medal in honour of Leo X. with the arms of Camerino on one side, and on the reverse, a laurel wreath, with the motto, "LEONIS X. CULTUI."

(b) *Zeno, Giorn. d'Italia*, vol. xix. p. 94.

(c) "APOPTHHEGMATA ex variis autoribus per JOANNEM STOBÆUM collecta, VARINO FAVORINO interprete."

At the close,

"*Impressum Romæ per Jacobum Mazochium, die xxvii. Men.
Novemb. M.D.XVII.*"

in 4to. In the dedication, Varino thus addresses the pope: "Hunc igitur, B. P. tuo auspicio publicum accipere volui; ut qui tibi jampridem meas operas, meque totum dediderim, mea quoque studia accepta referam." *Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital.* vol. xix. p. 110.

(d) VARINI CAMERTIS *Apophthegmata, ad bene beateque vivendum mire conducentia, nuper ex lympidissimo Græcorum fonte in Latinum fideliter conversa, et longe antea impressis castigatiora, &c.*

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dictionary
under the
name of
Phavorinus.

and this was reprinted at Cracow in 1529, with a Latin epigram in praise of the author by a learned native of Poland. (a)

But the great work by which Varino is known to the present times, and which will always secure to him an honourable rank among the promoters of Grecian literature, is his Greek dictionary, which after the labour of many years was completed by him in the lifetime of Leo X. who granted him a privilege for its publication; notwithstanding which it did not make its appearance until the pontificate of his successor, Adrian VI. in the year 1523, when it was published at Rome from the press of Zaccaria Calliergo. (b) In this department Varino had indeed been preceded by Giovanni Crastone, a Carmelite monk, (c) but the

At the close,

"*Romæ in ædibus Jacobi Mazochii, die xix. mensis Decembris, M.D.XIX.*" 8vo. *Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital.* vol. xix. p. 111.

(a) "Lector candide, si cupis repente,
Divina quasi virgula vocatus,
Moralem Sophiam tibi parare,
Hoc parvi moneo legas libelli,
E Græco tibi quod bonus VARINUS
Traduxit, lepidè simul Latine."

Wences. Sobeslaviense. Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xix. p. 112.

(b) "MAGNUM AC PERUTILE DICTIONARIUM quod quidem VARINUS PHAVORINUS CAMERS, Nucerinus Episcopus, ex multis variisque auctoribus in ordinem alphabeti collegit."

"LEONIS X. P. M. literis cautum est, ne quis possit hoc Varini Phavorini Episcopi Nucerini Magnum Dictionarium, impressum per Zachariam Calliergi Cretensem, per decennium imprimere aut venundare, sub pœna excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, et amissionis librorum." *Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital.* vol. xix. p. 118.

(c) "More correctly *Crastonus*, also *Crestonus*, sometimes called *Johannes Monachus*. Compare *Denis, Curiosities of the Garellian Library.*" (*Note of Mr. Henke, Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 137.)

production of this ecclesiastic is so defective, that Varino is ranked as the first who favoured the learned world with an useful and authentic lexicon. The merit of this performance is fully confirmed by the authority of the celebrated Henry Stephens in his *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*; not indeed in express terms, for he has not even mentioned the labours of his industrious predecessor; but by the more unequivocal circumstance of his having transcribed many parts of the volume published by Varino, and inserted them in his own more extensive work. (a) The dictionary of Varino was on its publication dedicated by him to Giulio, cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. Another edition was printed at Basil in the year 1538; (b) and notwithstanding the various works of the same nature which have since been published, the authors of which have availed themselves without scruple of the labours of Varino, his dictionary was again reprinted at Venice in the year 1712, by Antonio Bartoli, in a correct and elegant manner, (c) and yet retains its rank

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An edition of this work, *Per Dionysium Bertochum de Bononia, printed at Vicenza, M.CCCC.LXXXIII.* is in the collection of Richard Heber, Esq.*

(a) Zeno, *Giorn. d'Italia*, vol. xix. p. 114.

(b) This edition was superintended by the celebrated Camerarius, and inscribed by him to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg. It was printed at the press of *Robertus Cheimerinus*, or Robert Winter, at Basil, under the following title :

“*Dictionarium VARINI PHAVORINI CAMERTIS Nucerni Episcopi, magnum illud ac perutile, multis variisque ex autoribus collectum, totius linguae Græcæ commentarius.*”

Zeno, *Giorn. d'Ital.* vol. xix. p. 119.

(c) A full account of this edition is given by Zeno, *Giorn. d'Ital.* vol. xix. p. 89.

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among those useful and laborious compilations, of which it set the first laudable example. (a)

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Scipione
Forteguer-
ra, called
Carteroma-
chus.

Another eminent Italian scholar who at this period distinguished himself by his proficiency in Greek literature, was Scipione Forteguerra of Pistoja, better known by his scholastic appellation of *Carteromachus*, by which he chose to express his family name in his favourite language. His origin was respectable, and his father had several times held the supreme magistracy of his native place. He was born in the year 1467, and received the rudiments of his education at Pistoja, whence he afterwards removed to Rome; (b) but it was in the city of Florence, and under the directions of Politiano, that he acquired that thorough knowledge of the Greek language on which his reputation is founded. On this occasion he was the fellow-student of Varino, and being associated with the Antenori and other young men of rank, was allowed to receive instructions in the family of the Medici. From Florence he transferred his residence to Padua, whence he wrote in the month of April, 1493, to his preceptor Politiano, with whom, as appears from this letter, he still maintained the most friendly intimacy. (c) About the

(a) The various appellations assumed by Varino have misled the French bibliographer De Bure, who has, in the general index of his work, quoted *Guarino Camerti*, the author of the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ*, and *Varino Phavorino*, the compiler of the Greek Lexicon, as distinct authors.

(b) *Zeno, Giorn. d'Italia*, vol. xx. p. 279, vol. xxvi. p. 320.

(c) "Pudet quidem, *Politiane*, *præceptor optime*, eam potissimum expectasse ad te scribendi occasionem, unde necessitudinis potius quam voluntatis aut officii ratio appareret. Nam cum dehuerim initio statim quo huc profectus sum, scribere ad te, ut

year 1500, he was invited by the senate of Venice to give instructions in the Greek language in that city. At this period he had acquired such credit by his proficiency in that tongue, that we are assured that the Greeks themselves acknowledged his superiority, even in their native language. (a) On the elevation of Julius II. Scipione was called to Rome by that pontiff, and by him appointed to attend as preceptor and companion on his nephew, the cardinal Galeotto della Rovere, to whom Scipione soon afterwards inscribed an oration of Aristides, which he translated from the Greek. (b) From the intimacy which subsisted between Galeotto and the cardinal de' Medici, it may be presumed, that Scipione at this period renewed that friendship with the latter which had been formed when they were fellow students at Florence. During his attendance on Galeotto, he met at Bologna with the celebrated Erasmus, who has described him as a man of deep and consummate erudition, but so remote from all ostentation, that unless called forth by controversy, no one would have suspected him to have been possessed of such accomplishments. The acquaintance which these distinguished scholars then contracted was ripened into more particular friendship when they met together at Rome. (c) On the untimely death of

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est amici officium, ac multo magis *discipuli*, ego id prætermisi," &c. *Inter Pol. Ep.* lib. xii. ep. 22.

(a) " — tametsi Latinus est, attamen vel Græci ipsi in suæ linguæ cognitione et subtilitate, primas deferunt." *P. Alcyon. de Exsilio. ap. Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital.* vol. xx. p. 282.

(b) Published from the Aldine press, with the Augustine *Historians*, in the year 1519. *Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital.* vol. xxiv. p. 324.

(c) "*Bononiæ* primum videre contigit *Scipionem Carteromachum*,

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Galeotto in the year 1508, Scipione attached himself to Francesco Alidosio, cardinal of Pavia ; after whose assassination at Ravenna by the duke of Urbino, in the year 1511, he returned to Rome, and enjoyed the society of the few men of learning then resident there and particularly of Angelo Colocci. If we may credit an eminent Italian critic, Scipione was indebted to Colocci for his introduction to the friendship of the cardinal de' Medici ; but we have already found sufficient reason to conclude that their acquaintance had commenced at a much earlier period ; (a) and it is certain that before the elevation of Leo X. to the pontificate, Scipione was not only ranked among his friends, but resided with him under his roof. (b)

reconditæ et absolutæ cruditionis hominem ; sed usque adeo alienum ab ostentatione, ut ni provocasses, jurasses esse literarum ignarum. Cum eo post Romæ fuit mihi propior familiaritas." *Erasm. Ep. lib. xxiii. ep. 5.*

(a) " Sappiamo bene, per la testimonianza del Valeriano, che Scipione, per mezzo del Colocci, venne in conoscenza, che è lo stesso che dire in istima, del cardinale Giovanni de' Medici," &c. *Zeno, Giornal. d'Ital. vol. xx. p. 285.* In this account the modern writer appears not to have consulted the authority which he has cited with his usual accuracy. *v. Valer. de Literat. infel. in art. Scip. Carterom. p. 119.*

(b) Pet. Alcyonius, in his book "*De Exsilio*," introduces Giulio de' Medici, as addressing himself to the cardinal Giovanni, afterwards Leo X. and designating Carteromaco by the name of *Familiaris noster*. " Multos item Græca literatura insignes viros domi habes, ad quorum emulationem non desiisti cum omni genere exercitationis, tum maxime stylo augere partam eloquentiam ; atque inter hos maxime eminent *Scipio Carteromachus* ; quem honorificentissime, pro tua natura, liberalissimeque tractas, cum præsertim videas illum, quamquam Latinum, sic loqui et scribere, ut solus post veterum Græcorum, Platonis, Isocratis, Demosthenis, et Strabonis interitum, orbæ eloquentiæ tutor relictus videatur." *Giorn. d'Italia, vol. xx. p. 287.*

After that fortunate event, Leo is said to have appointed Scipione to direct the studies of his cousin Giulio de' Medici, then archbishop elect of Florence, (a) but it is scarcely probable that Leo would have interfered with the studies of his relation, who was then of mature age and fully competent to choose his own associates and instructors. Scipione had, however, reason to flatter himself, that from the liberality of such a pontiff he should receive the just remuneration of his talents and his services; nor is it likely that his expectations would have been defrauded, had not his premature death prevented his obtaining the full reward of his merits. The precise time when this event happened has been a subject of doubt; but from the most authentic account, founded on the records of his family, it appears that he died at Pistoia, about six months after the accession of Leo X. or in the month of October, 1513. (b) In consequence of his untimely fate, Scipione is indebted for his literary reputation rather to the numerous commendations of his contemporaries and friends than to his own writings, many of which are said to have been dispersed at his death, and usurped by others into whose hands they had fallen. (c) Among those which remain, is his ora-

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(a) *Valerian. de Literator. infel.* p. 119.

(b) "Il Salvi, e le memorie dei Signori Forteguerri, il fanno morto ai 16 di Ottobre, 1513, cioè di 46 anni." *Zeno, Giorn. d'Italia*, vol. xxvi. p. 326.

(c) Giraldi thus adverts to his death: "per hæc nostra tempora fuit Pistoriensis Scipio Carteromachus, qui Græce et Latine scivit, nec infans fuit; interceptus ille ante diem, quæ utraque lingua inchoata promiserat, haud plane perfecit; multum quidem eo moriente amisimus." *Girald. de Poetis. ap. Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital.* vol. xx. p. 289.

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tion in praise of Grecian literature, recited by him before a full and noble audience at Venice, in 1504, and published from the press of Aldo in the same year; (a) besides which, several epigrams in Greek and Latin, and a few Italian compositions, are extant in the publications of the times. (b) "It might be truly observed of him," says Valeriano, "that there was nothing written before his time which he had not read; nothing that he had read which he did not convert to the utility of others." (c) During his residence at Venice he frequently assisted in correcting the editions of the ancient authors published by Aldo, who has mentioned him in several of his publications in terms of high commendation and esteem. (d) He also united with Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo and other learned men in correcting the edition of the geographical works of Ptolomæus, printed at Rome in 1507, which has before been noticed.

Urbano
Bolzanio.

Fra Urbano Valeriano Bolzanio, of Belluno, has already been mentioned as one of the coadjutors of Varino and Aldo in the publication of the *Thesaurus Cornucopiæ*; but the services which he rendered to Grecian literature by his subsequent labours entitle him to more particular notice. He was born in the year 1440, and is said by his nephew Piero Valeriano, to have been the earliest

(a) Reprinted by Frobenius, at Basil, in 1517, and also prefixed by the learned Henry Stephens to his *Thesaurus Linguae Græcæ*.

(b) These are particularly indicated by Zenno, in his *Giorn. d' Ital.* vol. xx. p. 294, &c.

(c) *De Literator. infel.* lib. ii. p. 119.

(d) Particularly in the preface to his edition of Demosthenes, in 1504.

instructor of Leo X. in the knowledge of the Greek tongue. (a) Although an ecclesiastic of the order of S. Francesco, he quitted the walls of his monastery with the laudable curiosity of visiting foreign parts; and having had an opportunity of accompanying Andrea Gritti, afterwards doge of Venice, on an embassy to Constantinople, he thence made an excursion through Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and other countries; always travelling on foot, and diligently noting whatever appeared deserving of observation. (b) The disinterestedness of Urbano is strongly insisted on by his nephew Piero, who informs us that he rather chose to suffer the inconveniences of poverty than to receive a reward for those instructions which he was at all times ready to give, and that he always persevered in refusing those honours and dignities which Leo X. would gladly have conferred upon him. His activity, temperance, and placid disposition, secured to him a healthful old age, nor did he omit to make frequent excursions through Italy, until he was disqualified from these occupations by a fall in his

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(a) "Secutus sum institutum Urbani Valeriani, patru mei, qui primus Græcas literas docuerat Joannem, Clarissimi Laurentii filium, tunc protonotarium; is autem mox Cardinalis, post multa rerum molimina colludentisque fortunæ varietates, ad summum Pontificatum euectus; brevique post tempore illustribus fratre, nepoteque desideratis, cum ad prolem demum eorum fovendam animum adjecisset, me delegit, qui, quam operam patruus meus in eo olim erudiendo contulisset, eandem ego in illustres Hippolytum et Alexandrum navandum susceperem." *Pier. Valerian. Dedicat. ad Heramet. Giolit.* 1550.

(b) *Valerian. de Literat. infelic.* lib. ii. p. 166; who informs us, that Urbano travelled also into Sicily, where he twice ascended the mountain of Ætna and looked down into its crater. *Ibid.*

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garden, whilst he was pruning his trees. (a) His principal residence was at Venice, where he not only assisted Aldo Manuzio in correcting the editions which he published of the ancient authors, but gave instructions in the Greek language to a great number of scholars; insomuch, that there was scarcely a person in Italy distinguished by his proficiency in that language who had not at some time been his pupil. (b) His earnest desire of facilitating the knowledge of this language induced him to undertake the composition of his grammar, which was the first attempt to explain in Latin the rules of the Greek tongue. This work was first printed in 1497, (c) and was received with such avidity, that Erasmus, on inquiring for it in the year 1499, found that not a copy of the impression remained unsold. (d)

(a) *Valerian, de Literat. infel. lib. ii. p. 168.* Urbano never required the use of a horse, except on one occasion, when he passed over the rocky road of Assisi, in his way to Rome, to kiss the feet of his former pupil, Leo X. *Ibid.*

(b) Urbano died in the convent of S. Niccolo, at Venice, in the year 1524, and bequeathed to that convent his valuable library. His funeral oration, by Fr. Alberto da Castelfranco, was printed at Venice, in the same year, by Bernardino de' Vitali, in 4to. *Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xix. p. 104.* Note (a).

(c) URBANI, GRAMMATICA GRÆCA. *Ven. ap. Aldum, mense Januario, anno 1497, 4to.*

(d) "Grammaticam Græcam, summo studio vestigavi, ut emptam tibi mitterem; sed jam utraque divendita fuerat, et Constantini quæ dicitur, quæque Urbani." *Eras. Ep. ad Jacob. Tutorem, 1499.* De Bure had never seen a copy of this edition. *Bib. instr. No. 2221.* It was dedicated by Aldo to Giovan. Francesco Pico, nephew of Giovanni Pico of Mirandula. *Maittaire, Ann. Typ. vol. i. p. 638.* The Grammar of Constantine Lascar above mentioned was wholly in Greek.

The exertions of Leo X. were not, however, exclusively confined to the promotion of any one particular branch of literature. Soon after his elevation, he caused it to be publicly known that he would give ample rewards to those who should procure for him manuscript copies of the works of any of the ancient Greek or Roman authors, and would at his own expense print and publish them with as much accuracy as possible. In consequence of this, the five first books of the annals of Tacitus, which Lipsius afterwards divided into six, and which had until that time existed only in manuscript, were brought from the Abbey of Corvey in Westphalia, by Angelo Arcomboldo, who was remunerated by the pope with the liberal reward of 500 zechins. (a) Such of the writings of that eminent historian as had before been discovered, and which consisted of the last six books of his annals and the five first books of his history, had been printed by Johannes de Spira at Venice, about the year 1468, and several times reprinted at Rome and Venice. On obtaining this valuable copy, which besides comprehending the additional books supplied considerable defects in those before published, Leo determined to give to the world as complete an edition as possible; for which purpose he intrusted the manuscript to the younger Filippo Beroaldo, with directions to correct the text and to superintend the printing of it in an elegant and useful form. In order to reward the editor for his trouble on this occasion, Leo proposed to grant to him an exclusive privilege for the re-

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Leo obtains
a more com-
plete MS.
of the works
of Tacitus.

(a) *Brotier. Tacit. in præf. p. 18. op. Ed. Par. 1771.*

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printing and sale of the work ; and as the brief in which this privilege is conceded contains a kind of justification on the part of the pontiff for devoting so much of his attention to the promotion of profane learning, an extract from its preamble may not be inapplicable to our present subject.

Grants to
Beroaldo a
brief for its
publication.

“ Amongst the other objects of our attention since we have been raised by divine goodness to the pontifical dignity, and devoted to the government, and, as far as in us lies, to the extension of the Christian church, we have considered those pursuits as not the least important which lead to the promotion of literature and useful arts ; for we have been accustomed even from our early years to think, that nothing more excellent or more useful has been given by the Creator to mankind, if we except only the knowledge and true worship of himself, than these studies, which not only lead to the ornament and guidance of human life, but are applicable and useful to every particular situation ; in adversity consolatory, in prosperity pleasing and honourable ; insomuch, that without them we should be deprived of all the grace of life and all the polish of society. The security and extension of these, studies seem chiefly to depend on two circumstances, the number of men of learning, and the ample supply of excellent authors. As to the first of these, we hope, with the divine blessing, to shew still more evidently our earnest desire and disposition to reward and to honour their merits ; this having been for a long time past our chief delight and pleasure. With respect to the acquisition of books, we return thanks to God, that in this also an op-

portunity is now afforded us of promoting the advantage of mankind.” (a)

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The pontiff then adverts to his having obtained at great expense the five books of Tacitus, which he confides to the care of Beroaldo for publication, with high commendation on his talents, industry, and integrity; and in order to secure to him the reward of his labours, he denounces the sentence of excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, with the penalty of two hundred ducats, and forfeiture of the books, against any persons who should reprint these works within ten years without the express consent of the editor. (b)

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(a) *Leon. X. Bulla, Taciti op. a Beroaldo præf. Ed. Rom. 1515.*

(b) This edition was accordingly published in a handsome volume, in folio, under the following title :

P. CORNELII TACITI LIBRI
QUINQUE NOVITER IN-
VENTI ATQUE CUM
RELIQUIS EJUS
OPERIBUS
EDITI.

“ Ne quis intra decennium præsens opus possit alicubi impune imprimere aut impressum vendere gravissimis edictis cautum est.”

At the close of the Dialogue de Oratoribus, after the table of errata and register, we read,

“ P. Cornelii Taciti, Equitis Ro. Historiarum libri quinque nuper in Germania inventi ac cum reliquis omnibus ejus operibus quæ prius inveniebantur, Romæ impressi p. Magistrum Stephanum Guillereti de Lothoringia Tullen. dioc. anno M. D. XV. Kl. Martii. Leonis X. Pont. Max. anno secundo.”

On the reverse are the pontifical arms, with a further address, as under :

NOMINE LEONIS X. PONT. MAX. PROPO-
SITA SUNT PREMIA NON MEDIOCRIA
HIS QUI AD EUM LIBROS VETERES
NECQUE HACTENUS EDITOS
ATTULERINT.

This

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The work
printed by
Minuziano
of Milan.

But notwithstanding the censures of the Christian church were thus employed by the pontiff for protecting the writings of a heathen author, neither these nor the temporal penalties by which they were accompanied, could prevent another edition from being printed at Milan in the same year by Alessandro Minuziano, who had established himself there as a printer, and contended with Aldo Manuzio in the publication of the writings of antiquity. So vigilant was Minuziano in this respect, that he obtained the sheets of the Roman edition as they came progressively from the press, and it is probable that his own edition was nearly completed before he was aware of the heavy denunciations against those who should presume to pirate the work. By this measure the incautious printer not only incurred the penalties in the papal brief, but excited the indignation of the pope, who found his monitory treated with contempt in the very place which he had lately freed from the yoke of the French, and who ordered Minuziano immediately to appear at Rome. The interposition of some powerful friends, and not improbably that of Maximiliano Sforza, was however exerted in his behalf, and such representations were made to the pope as induced him to relax from his severity, and release the offender from his excommunication; which was followed by a kind of compromise between him and Beroaldo, by which the Milanese printer was allowed to dispose of the remaining copies of his work. (a)

This is followed by the life of Agricola, with which the volume closes.

(a) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia, Art. Beroaldo.* Mr. Henke has

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The restoration of the Greek and Roman languages was accompanied, or speedily followed, by the study of the oriental tongues, which although so necessary to the perfect knowledge of the sacred writings, now first began to engage the more particular attention of the learned. (a) To the suc-

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study of ori-
ental litera-
ture.

however observed that "Minuziano was not a printer, but a professor of history and eloquence at Milan. For in the dedication of his Tacitus to Leo X. he excuses himself on account of the copy prepared by him, thus: '*Cum ex alma Urbe ista Tua Cornelii Taciti non universum corpus, sed membratim ad me missum esset, vidissemque a Beroaldo, viro sane docto, quantum diligentiae adhiberetur, ut quam emendatissime ederetur, illico cogitavi, augustalem illam historiam auditoribus meis hoc anno exponere, cujus ut copia illis fieret, librariis meis describendam tradidi,*' &c. Saxius, *de studiis Literar. Mediol.* p. 127. As for the rest, his Tacitus appeared in 1515; not as Panzer, in his *Annal. Typogr.* vol. vii. p. 395, determines, in 1517." (*Note of Mr. Henke, Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 147.)

(a) Impartiality requires that I should not here omit the very interesting observations of Mr. Henke on the revival of oriental literature, although they give a different view of the subject from that which I have presented, and even represent Leo X. as inimical to the freedom of discussion and the liberty of the press. On my observing in the text that the knowledge of the oriental tongues first began to engage the *more particular* attention of the learned in the time of Leo X. Mr. Henke adds, "Not entirely so. The religious zeal directed to the conversion of the Jews had already induced a knowledge of their language. In the same manner the remnant of the Moslems in Spain gave the missionaries in that country an opportunity of studying the Arabic, and after the establishment of an order of ecclesiastics for the purpose of exterminating heresy, there always existed in that community some members who were acquainted with the eastern tongues, particularly in Spain. Several learned Jews also contributed to the same object, on their conversion to Christianity. Clement V. in the council of Vienne in 1311, had already directed that six professors of the eastern tongues should be attached to each of the higher schools at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, in order to form able

CHAP. ~~cessful~~ prosecution of these inquiries the favour
 XI. of the great was yet more necessary than to the
 A. D. 1514. other branches of learning; and the assistance af-
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 A. Pont. II. controversialists against the Jews and Mahomedans; and if this should not be considered conclusive, or as not attended by any very important consequences, yet, before the time of Leo X. much had been done in Rome itself towards this object. Even his unpolished predecessor, Julius II. had furnished the requisite expenses for the establishment of an Arabic press in the city of *Fano*. *Schnurrer. Biblioth. Arab. par. v. p. 5.* From the Annals of Hebrew Bibliography by *De Rossi*, we further learn, that soon after the art of printing was brought to perfection, several editions of the Old Testament were printed by the Jews, in various towns of Italy, as Soncino, Pesaro, and Brescia. But above all, nothing either before or since, has so much contributed to the cultivation of Hebrew learning as the *Rudimenta* of John Reuchlin, which that learned German scholar published in 1506. Nor must we omit, if we wish to be impartial, that Leo X. in the last session of the Lateran council, published a bull for the especial purpose of restricting the freedom of the press, in regard to such works as were translated from the ancient languages into the Latin. ‘However great the advantages may have been,’ he says, ‘which the art of printing has conferred on mankind; *quia tamen multorum querela nostrum et sedes Apostolicæ pulsavit auditum, quod nonnulli hujus artis imprimendi magistri in diversis mundi partibus libros tam Græcæ, Hebraicæ, Arabicæ, et Chaldææ linguarum in Latinum translatos, quam alios Latino ac vulgari sermone editos, errores etiam in fide, ac perniciosæ dogmata etiam religioni Christianæ contraria, ac contra famam etiam dignitate fulgentium continent, imprimere ac vendere præsumunt*: in future therefore no work shall be allowed to be printed, without a sufficient examination, and a permission subscribed by the officer appointed for that purpose, &c.’ *Concil. Lateran. v. a. 1515.* With respect to this ordinance we may observe, that it was probably issued at the instigation of the superiors of the ecclesiastical orders, and had a particular reference to the celebrated controversy carried on by Reuchlin with some German monks, especially those of Cologne, respecting the tendency and value of Jewish literature. That however this pontiff did not greatly interest himself in the cultivation and diffusion of the eastern tongues, from a fear perhaps that they

forded by Leo X. to those who engaged in them may serve to show that his munificence was not confined, as has generally been supposed, to the lighter and more ornamental branches of literature. Among those who had made an early proficiency in the knowledge of the eastern tongues was Teseo Ambrogio of Pavia, regular canon of the Lateran, (a) who arrived at Rome in the year 1512, at the opening of the fifth session of the Lateran council. The great number of ecclesiastics from Syria, Ethiopia, and other parts of the east, who attended that council, afforded him an opportunity of prosecuting his studies with advantage; and at the request of the cardinal Santa Croce, he

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Teseo Ambrogio professor of the eastern tongues in Bologna.

might be converted into weapons against the true faith, is manifest from his so long withholding his indulgence from the publication of the polyglot Bible at Alcalá. Nearly six years elapsed after the completion of that work, before he granted the requisite permission, although there was not the slightest cause to apprehend any danger to the church or her doctrines." *v. Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 148.

On this note of Mr. Henke, I shall only observe, that the restrictions on the press at Rome were not first introduced in the pontificate of Leo X., but in that of his predecessor Sixtus IV., and that the continuance of them was most probably the act of the council of the Lateran, and not individually of the pontiff, who was not only solicitous to promote the study of the ancient languages, but liberally remunerated those who devoted themselves to the publication and translation of them. That this is incontrovertible, will sufficiently appear from the numerous instances given in the present work; to which, if it were necessary, several others might be added from the notes on the Italian translation by Count Bossi, who has paid particular attention to this subject. *v. Ital. ed.* vol. iv. pp. 162, 166. vol. xii. p. 220, &c.*

(a) He was of the noble family of the Conti d'Albonese, and born in 1469. At fifteen years of age, he is said to have written and spoken Greek and Latin with a facility equal to any person of the time. *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia*, vol. ii. p. 609.

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 XI. translate from the Chaldean into Latin the liturgy

A. D. 1514. of the eastern clergy, previously to the use of it
 A. Æt. 39. being expressly sanctioned by the pope. (a) Af-
 A. Pont. II. ter having been employed by Leo X. for two
 years in giving instructions in Latin to the sub-
 deacon Elias, a legate from Syria to the council,
 whom the pope wished to retain in his court, and
 from whom Ambrogio received in return instruc-
 tions in the Syrian tongue, he was appointed by
 the pontiff to the chair of a professor in the uni-
 versity of Bologna, where he delivered instruc-
 tions in the Syriac and Chaldaic languages for the
 first time that they had been publicly taught in
 Italy. Ambrogio is said to have understood no
 less than eighteen different languages, many of
 which he spoke with the ease and fluency of a na-
 tive. (b) In the commotions which devastated
 Italy after the death of Leo X. he was despoiled
 of the numerous and valuable eastern manuscripts
 which he had collected by the industry of many
 years, as also of the types and apparatus which he
 had prepared for an edition of the psalter in the
 Chaldean, which he intended to have accompanied
 with a dissertation on that language. This, how-
 ever, did not deter him from the prosecution of
 his studies, and in the year 1539, he published at

His intro-
 duction to
 the Chal-
 daic and
 other lan-
 guages.

(a) *Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Ital. ubi sup.*

(b) *Mazzuch. ut supra.* But by an epistle of Isidoro Chario, bishop of Foligno, to Ambrogio, cited by the same author, we are informed, with more probability, that Ambrogio was master of at least ten different languages. "Et enim si Ennius, propter Latinæ et Græcæ linguæ scientiam, duo se corda habere gloriabatur, quanti tandem is est, qui decem et eo amplius corda, ob tam multam tot linguarum eruditionem, habere credendus est?"

Pavia his "Introduction to the Chaldean, Syrian, Armenian, and ten other tongues, with the alphabetical characters of about forty different languages;" which is considered by the Italians themselves as the earliest attempt made in Italy towards a systematic acquaintance with the literature of the east. (a)

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The labours of Ambrogio were emulated by several other learned Italians, and particularly by Agostino Giustiniani, who with more success than Ambrogio undertook an edition of the psalter in four languages, which he published at Genoa, in 1516. (b) It is observable that Tiraboschi considers this work as the first specimen of a polyglot Bible which had been seen in Europe; (c) but this praise is justly due to the great complutensian polyglot of cardinal Ximenes, of which the earliest part bears the date of 1514, and which work is inscribed to Leo X. (d) On being inform-

Agostino
Giustiniani
publishes a
polyglot edi-
tion of the
psalter.

Compluten-
sian poly-
glot of car-
dinal Xime-
nes dedi-
cated to
Leo X.

(a) *Mazzuch. ut sup. Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam Syriacam atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas. Characterum differentium Alphabeti circiter quadraginta, &c. 1539, 4to. Excudebat Papiæ, Ioan. Maria Simonetta Cremon. in Canonica Sancti Petri in Cælo aureo, sumptibus et typis authoris libri.*—"Questo," says Mazzuchelli, "è il primo libro che in tal genere di Grammatica siasi veduto in Italia."

(b) He had intended to have given a similar edition of the whole of the sacred writings, but this portion only was published by him. *v. Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. vol. vii. par. ii. p. 403.*

Of the psalter of *Giustiniani*, now become very rare, Count Bossi has given a particular description. He has also added the dedication of *Giustiniani* to Leo X. giving an account of the studies of the author, of the arrangement and object of his work, and of the encouragement given by the pontiff to the study of the oriental tongues. *v. Ital. ed. vol. iv. pp. 143, 166, 169, &c.*

(c) *Tirab. Storia della Let. Ital. vol. vii. par. ii. p. 403.*

(d) For a particular account of it, *v. De Bure, Bibl. Instr. No. I.*

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A. Pont. II.Leo directs
the transla-
tion of the
scriptures
by Pagnini
to be pub-
lished at his
expense.Encourages
researches
for eastern
MSS.

ed that Sante Pagnini, a learned ecclesiastic then in Rome, had undertaken to translate the Bible from the original Hebrew, Leo sent to him and requested to be allowed the inspection of his work.

The satisfaction which he derived from it was such that he immediately ordered that the whole should be transcribed at his own expense, and gave directions that materials should be provided for printing it. A part of it was accordingly executed, but the death of the pontiff retarded its completion, and the labours of Pagnini were not published until the pontificate of Clement VII. (a) The Hebrew tongue was also publicly taught at Rome, by Agacio Guidacerio, a native of Calabria, who published a grammar of that language which he dedicated to Leo X. and of which he gave a more complete edition at Paris, in 1539. (b) Francesco de' Rosi, of Ravenna, having, during his travels into Syria, discovered an Arabic manuscript, under the title of *The mystic Philosophy of Aristotle*, caused it to be translated into Latin and presented it to the pope, who in his letter of acknowledgements expresses his earnest desire of promo-

(a) In the dedication to Clement VII. Pagnini thus relates the foregoing circumstances: "Leo X. me, cum Romæ agerem, accito, quam olim elucubraveram utriusque instrumenti translationem, ut sibi ostenderem benigne ac perhumaniter injunxit. Is cum aliquot vidisset quaterniones, et ex iis cetera suo præclaro expendisset ingenio, volo, inquit, ut meis impensis totus transcribatur liber, et typis exacte revisus excudatur. Tum, ut novit Tua Beatitudo, non modo pro scribis, verum etiam pro parandis iis quæ opus erant executioni, impensas suppeditavit, et sequenti deinde anno nonnulla excusa fuerunt. Sed, proh dolor! illo post hæc brevi ex humanis sublato, gravi omnium mœrore intermissa sunt omnia." *Ap. Fabr. vita Leon. X. Adnot. No. 27.*

(b) *Tiraboschi, Storia della Let. Ital.* lib. vii. vol. ii. p. 418.

ting similar researches, and his approbation of the labours of Francesco, to whom he also grants a privilege for the publication of the work, which was accordingly printed at Rome in the year 1519. (a) These brief notices of the rise of oriental learning in Europe may sufficiently demonstrate the interest which Leo X. took in promoting those studies, and the success which attended his efforts.

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(a) For the letter of Leo X. v. Appendix, No. XCVIII.

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1514.

PUBLIC thanksgivings at Rome for the successes of the Christian arms—Splendid embassy from the king of Portugal to Leo X.—Papal grant of newly discovered countries to the king of Portugal—Louis XII. endeavours to engage in his interests the Helvetic states—Proposed alliance between the Royal Houses of France, Spain, and Austria—Efforts of Leo X. to prevent such alliance—Leo endeavours to reconcile the French and English sovereigns—Treaty of alliance between England and France—Wolsey, appointed archbishop of York—Marriage of Louis XII. with the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII.—Singular interview between Erasmus and the papal legate Canossa—Magnificent exhibitions at Florence—Triumph of Camillus—Tournaments—Deliberations at Rome for aggrandizing the family of the Medici—Leo X. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples and the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino—Enters into a secret alliance with Louis XII.—His motives explained—Leo obtains the city of Modena—Endeavours to reconcile the Venetians to the king of Spain and the Emperor elect—Legation of Bembo to Venice—The senate refuses to comply with his proposals—Historical mistakes respecting this negociation—Death of Louis XII.—His character—His widow marries Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

CHAPTER XII.

THE reconciliation which had been so happily effected between Louis XII. and the Roman see was extremely agreeable to the pope; not only as it afforded a subject of triumph to the church, in having reduced to due obedience so refractory and powerful a monarch, but as having also extinguished the last remains of that schism which had originated in the council of Pisa, and had at one time threatened to involve in contention the whole Christian world.

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Public
thanksgiv-
ings in
Rome for
the succe-
ses of the
Christian
arms.

This satisfaction was soon afterwards increased by the intelligence of the important victories which the kings of Hungary and of Poland had obtained over the common enemies of the Christian faith, and of the discoveries of Emanuel, king of Portugal, in the east, under the conduct of the celebrated Vasco del Gama. (a) Such a concurrence of great and prosperous events induced the pope to direct the celebration of a public thanksgiving in Rome, which was accordingly observed with extraordinary pomp, and splendid processions to the churches of *S. Maria del Popolo* and *S. Agostino*;

(a) This event supplied the celebrated Portuguese poet Luis de Camoens with the subject of his *Lusiad*, which was not however written until many years afterwards, and was first published in 1572.

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in which the pontiff appeared in person, and by the propriety and decorum which always distinguished him on public occasions gave additional dignity to the ceremony. (a) At the same time he ordered Camillo Portio to pronounce, in the pontifical chapel, a Latin oration in praise of the character and actions of the king of Portugal, who had communicated to him his success, and testified his dutiful obedience to the Roman court, and his personal attachment to the supreme pontiff. (b)

Splendid
embassy
from the
king of Por-
tugal to
Leo X.

This mutual interchange of civility and respect between the king of Portugal and the pontiff, was however rendered much more conspicuous by a splendid embassy from the Portuguese monarch, which soon afterwards arrived at Rome, to the great delight and astonishment of the inhabitants. The chief ambassador on this occasion was the celebrated Tristano Cugna, who had himself held a principal command in the expedition to the east, and had acquired great honour by his conduct and courage in its prosecution. He was accompanied by Jacopo Paceco and Giovanni Faria, professors of the law, of great eminence and authority. Three sons of Cugna, with many others of his relatives and friends, accompanied the procession, which was

(a) “ S. Santità questa mattina per bona consuetudine è stata ad la Minerva, con tutti li cardinali cum grandissima pompa, et dove quella compagnia della Annunciata soleva al più maritare xx. zit-
telle, con lo adiuto di S. Santità, erano questa mattina lv, o più; et dipoi la Messa, et ceremonie facte là, se ne tornò in Castello, et li è stato tutto oggi, et questa sera per il Corridoro tornatosene al palazzo.” *Balt. da Pescia, a Lor. de' Medici, 26 Mar. 1514. MSS. Flor.*

(b) The letter from the king of Portugal to the pontiff is given in the Appendix, No. XCIX.

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met at the gates of the city by a select body of cardinals and prelates, who conducted the strangers to the palaces appointed for their residence. But the respectability of the envoys was of less importance in the eyes of the populace than the singular and magnificent presents for the pope by which they were accompanied. (a) Among these were an elephant of extraordinary size, two leopards, a panther, and other uncommon animals. Several Persian horses, richly caparisoned, appeared also in the train, mounted by natives of the same country dressed in their proper habits. To these was added a profusion of articles of inestimable value; pontifical vestments adorned with gold and jewels, vases and other implements for the celebration of sacred rites, and a covering for the altar of most exquisite workmanship. A herald bearing the arms of the Portuguese sovereign led the procession. On their arrival at the pontifical palace, where the pope stood at the windows to see them pass, the elephant stopped, and, kneeling before his holiness, bowed himself thrice to the ground. (b) A large vessel was here provided and filled with water,

(a) This incident is celebrated by Aurelio Screno, Giovanni Capito, and others, in several copies of Latin verses; for a specimen of which see Appendix, No. C.

(b) "In annuis enim tui Pontificatus ludis, mense Martio celebratis, Indus Elephas, omnium animalium sagacissimus, a Sere-
nissimo Emanuele Lusitanorum Rege, per splendidissimum Equitem,
Oratorem suum, Tristanum Cuncum missus, incognitus nec dum
sæculo nostro in Italia visus, stupentibus ac mirantibus populis,
per totam urbem exhibitus apparuit. Quod spectaculum Pompeo,
Hannibali, Domitiano, paucisque aliis patuit, id tuo augustissimo
tempore fuit demonstratum; ut docile animal in tua publica hila-
ritate oblatum, supplex tuum numen sentiret adoraretque." *Aurel.
Screnus, Theatr. Capitol. in dedicat. ad Leon. X. an. 1514.*

CHAP. which the elephant drew up into his trunk and
 XII. showered down again on the adjacent multitude,
 A.D. 1514. dispersing no small portion of it among the more
 A. Æt. 39. polite spectators at the windows, to the great
 A. Pont. II. entertainment of the pontiff. Six days after-
 wards the ambassadors were admitted to a public
 audience, on which occasion the procession was
 repeated. The pope, surrounded by the cardinals
 and prelates of the church, and attended by the
 ambassadors of foreign states and all the officers of
 his court, was addressed in a Latin oration of Pa-
 cecco, (a) at the conclusion of which Leo replied to
 him in the same language, highly commending the
 king for his devotion to the holy see. Of this op-
 portunity the pontiff also availed himself, to recom-
 mend the maintenance of peace among the states
 of Europe, and the union of their arms against the
 Turks; expressing himself with such promptitude,
 seriousness, and elegance, as to obtain the unani-
 mous admiration of the auditors. (b) On the fol-

(a) This oration, although in a style of the most hyperbolical pa-
 negyric, was highly admired by the Roman scholars, and gave
 rise to several commendatory copies of verses, in praise both of
 the king and his ambassador. v. App. No. CI.

(b) " Questa mattina (25 Mar. 1514) li ambasciatori Portoghesi,
 quali sono stati tre, uno Consigliere et due Dottore del Re, in
 Consistorio publico hanno prestato la solita obedientia ad N. Sig-
 nore : et uno di loro ha facto una bellissima oratione, et N. Sig-
 nore ha facto una più bella risposta, con certe sante parole, che
 parevano proprio uscissero fora d'una bocca d'uno santo, che con-
 cludevano lodando questo Re, che haveva facto tante cose per la
 fede, et exhortando li altri principi ad far pace infra se, et con-
 vertire quelle forze che si agitano uno contra l'altro, verso li in-
 fedeli ; et che suo desiderio non é altro, che ridurre questi principi
 ad la pace, et andare contra li infedeli, le quale tutte due orationi
 se potrà havere ve manderò." *Balth. da Pescia ad Lor. de' Med.*
MSS. Flor.

lowing day, the presents from the king were brought into the conservatory of the gardens adjoining the pontifical palace, where, on the introduction of animals proper for that purpose, the wild beasts displayed their agility in taking, and their ferocity in devouring their prey; a spectacle which humanity would have spared, but which was probably highly gratifying to the pontiff, who was devoted to the pleasures of the chase. The Portuguese monarch had intended to have surprised the Roman people with the sight of another and yet rarer animal, which had not been seen in Rome for many ages; but the rhinoceros, which he had brought from the east with this view, unfortunately perished in the attempt to get him on board the vessel prepared to transport him to Italy.

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In return for these public testimonies of consideration and respect on the part of the king of Portugal, Leo addressed to that monarch a public letter of acknowledgement, (a) and soon afterwards transmitted to him a consecrated rose. His holiness had in truth for some time hesitated whether he should present this precious gift to the king or to the emperor elect Maximilian; (b) but the attention which he had experienced from the former seems to have effected this important decision. He also granted to Emanuel the tenths and thirds of the clergy in his dominions, as long as he should

Papal grant of the new discovered countries to the king of Portugal.

(a) This letter, which bears date 21 March, 1514, is given in the Appendix, No. CII.

(b) "Questa mattina (26 Mar. 1514) N. Signore ha benedetto la Rosa, la quale non è ancora resoluta S. Santità se la dona al Portogallo o ad lo Imperatore." *Lett. di Pescia. MSS. Fl. p. 11.*

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carry on the war in Africa, (a) together with the right of presentation and ecclesiastical preferment in all countries discovered by him beyond the Cape of Good Hope; (b) and these concessions were soon afterwards followed by a more ample donation of all kingdoms, countries, provinces, and islands which he might recover from the infidels, not only from capes *Bojador* and *Naon* to the Indies, but in parts yet undiscovered and unknown even to the pontiff himself. (c) About the same time the pope beatified the memory of Elizabeth, queen of Portugal, who had signalized herself by the sanctity of her

(a) 20 April, *Supplem. au Dumont, Corps Diplom. tom. ii. par. i. p. 26.*

(b) 7 June, *Ibid. p. 27.*

(c) 3 November, *Ibid. p. 28.*

“A great outcry has been raised, beyond the limits of Italy, against this concession of the pope; which, to say the truth, seems to exceed his powers, considered simply as head of the Christian church. But this was not the first instance in which the court of Rome had pretended to the right of disposing of states newly discovered, or conquered from the infidels. Leo X. had a recent example in his predecessor Alexander VI. who had not only granted a bull to Ferdinand V. called *the Catholic*, by which, after having excommunicated the king of Navarre, he conferred his dominions on Ferdinand, who had possessed himself of them, but by another bull divided the Indies by an hypothetical line between the same Ferdinand, the conqueror of the Moors, and the king of Portugal. The foundation, or the pretext, of these concessions was the exaltation of the church, and the diffusion of the Christian faith.” (*Note of Count Bossi, Ital. ed. vol. v. p. 162.*)

To the foregoing observations of Bossi, I shall only add, that these preposterous grants have been submitted to by the European states more implicitly than might have been expected, and have been recently considered as the immediate cause of the unmolested possession of South America by the Spaniards, and of the efforts for colonization made by the English being directed to the north of that quarter of the globe. *v. Edinb. Rev. vol. xli. p. 276.**

life, (a) and enrolled in the list of martyrs the seven minorites, who are said to have been the last family in Africa who suffered martyrdom for their adherence to the Christian faith.

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Although Leo was highly gratified by the event of his negotiations with Louis XII. the success of which might justly be attributed to his own firmness and moderation, yet he could not but perceive that this alliance with that monarch gave rise to considerable embarrassment, as to the course of political conduct which it would in future be necessary for him to adopt. With his hostility to the church, Louis had by no means relinquished his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, for the recovery of which he had already begun to make formidable preparations. As he had been frustrated in his former attempts by the opposition and promptitude of Leo X. and by the courage of the Swiss, he determined, after having secured the favour of the one, to obtain if possible the assistance, or at least the neutrality, of the other. In this attempt he met, however, with greater obstacles than he expected. During the late contests, the Swiss had imbibed a spirit of resentment against the French monarch which had at length been inflamed to a high degree of national antipathy. The treaty of

Louis XII.
endeavours
to attach to
his interests
the Helve-
tic states.

(a) The degree of *Santo* and *Beato*, in the hierarchy of the Roman church, must not be confounded; the former being only conferred on those endowed with the highest degree of sanctity, accompanied by the evidence of miraculous powers, whilst the latter may be conceded to persons of holy life, although without such pretensions. The queen of Portugal in this instance is only *Beata*.

But according to Mr. Henke she was, in the year 1625, declared *Santa*, or, in other words, she was *canonized*. *Act. Sanctor.* vol. ii. *Jul.* p. 201. (*Germ. ed.* vol. ii. p. 159.)

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Dijon, by which Louis stood engaged to pay to them the enormous sum of six hundred thousand crowns, as the price of their evacuating his dominions, had not yet been fulfilled; and the preparations making by the king for another invasion of Milan were a sufficient demonstration that he did not consider himself as bound by a treaty of which the chief article was his relinquishment of all pretensions to that duchy. It was to no purpose that he endeavoured to justify himself to the Helvetic states for this open breach of a compact by which his own dominions had been released from the most imminent danger. Those hardy and independent republicans had even the magnanimity to refuse a much larger sum than that for which they had before stipulated, and which was offered them on the condition of their releasing the king from his engagements and favouring his enterprise against the states of Milan. (a)

Proposes an
alliance
with the
houses of
Spain and
Austria.

Unable either to secure the favour, or to mitigate the resentment of the Swiss, who threatened not only to take upon themselves the defence of the Milanese, in case of a future attack, but also to make a second irruption into France, Louis had recourse to another expedient. The affinity that already subsisted between him and Ferdinand of Aragon, who had married his niece Germaine de Foix, afforded him an opportunity of proposing an alliance by marriage between his youngest daughter Renée, then only four years of age, and the archduke Charles, afterwards emperor by the name of

(a) Louis had offered to pay down 400,000 ducats, and 800,000 more by instalments at future periods. *Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 68.*

Charles V. who stood in an equal degree of relationship, as grandson, both to Ferdinand and the emperor elect Maximilian. By this union Louis expected to secure the co-operation of both these powerful monarchs in his designs upon Italy; and as the Venetians still remained firmly attached to his interests, for the support of which they had indeed made great sacrifices, he had no doubt that he should now be able to accomplish his purposes. The preliminaries for the marriage were accordingly agreed upon, (a) and as this important union could not, from the youth of both parties, be carried into immediate effect, the truce which had been already established for one year between Louis and Ferdinand, was soon afterwards again renewed, with a reservation for the emperor elect and the king of England to accede to it, if they should think proper. (b)

These proceedings were a cause of great alarm to Leo X. who perceived, that by this union of the courts of Aragon, Vienna, and France, the duchy

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Efforts of
Leo X. to
prevent this
alliance.

(a) Muratori asserts that this treaty was concluded the 24th March, 1514. *Annal. d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 109. But it appears to have been signed at Blois, on the first day of December, 1513, the only parties being their Catholic and most Christian majesties. The husband was to be either the archduke Charles or his brother Ferdinand, at the choice of the Catholic king and the princess Renée. Louis agreed to relinquish all his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. The states of Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, were to be conquered and transferred as a patrimonial inheritance to the archduke and his intended bride. The pope was named as the common ally of both parties, and power was reserved for the emperor and the king of England to accede to the league; the latter restoring to Louis XII. the city of Tournay. *Dumont, Corps Diplomat.* vol. iv. par. i. p. 178.

(b) *v. Dumont, Corps Diplomat.* vol. iv. par. i. p. 179.

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of Milan and its dependent states would fall an easy prey to the invaders. (a) Nor were the fears of Leo confined to this district. He well knew that the opposite interests of these great continental powers had hitherto preserved from a foreign yoke those provinces of Italy which yet remained under the dominion of their native princes; and he justly dreaded that this coalition would only be the harbinger of a general partition of that country, to almost every part of which one or another of these potentates had already advanced pretensions. In this emergency, all his talents and exertions were employed to prevent the proposed union from taking effect. (b) He was well aware that Louis had been chiefly impelled to this measure by his misunderstanding with the Swiss; on which account he earnestly laboured to reconcile the differences which had arisen between them. Nor was the French king unwilling to listen to his representations, in the hope that he might yet obtain the assistance of those warlike mercenaries; in which case he would gladly have relinquished his treaty for the alliance with Spain and the emperor, which he already began to suspect could only terminate in the aggrandizement of the united house of Aragon and of Austria, and in the humi-

(a) On the 20th of March, 1514, a correspondence commenced between the cardinal Giulio de' Medici at Rome, and Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence, which was carried on at Rome by Balthazar da Pescia, and discloses not only all the transactions of the Roman court, to the minutest particulars, but the views and designs of the supreme pontiff. From these letters, none of which have before been published, some extracts have already been given, and others will occur in the course of the present work.

(b) *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia.* MSS. Flor. App. No. CIII.

liation of that of France. Under these impressions he proposed to unite his interests with those of the pope and the Helvetic states, provided they would not oppose his pretensions to the state of Milan; at the same time offering to the pope a compensation in some other part of Italy for any injury which he might sustain. (a) Whatever might have been the determination of Leo, who appears to have balanced in his mind the probable consequences of the alliance between France and Aragon, with the certainty of the loss of Milan, he had not an opportunity of making his election; the Swiss having positively refused to relax in their pretensions, or to enter into any alliance with the king, unless the treaty of Dijon was carried into full effect. In order to mitigate their resentment Leo despatched to the Helvetic diet, as his legate, the cardinal of Sion; but although that prelate had great influence on the minds of his countrymen, he could not on this occasion prevail on them to depart from their resolution. On the other hand, Louis XII. displayed equal pertinacity in maintaining his pretensions to the state of Milan, the relinquishment of which he considered as not only derogatory to his just rights, but as a stain on the honour and dignity of his crown. (b)

But although Leo was thus disappointed in his expectations, he did not relax in his endeavours to defeat the dreaded alliance, which he considered as pregnant with danger to the independence and repose of Italy. The cautious and procrastinating temper of Ferdinand of Spain, and the folly and

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Leo endeavours to reconcile the French and English sovereigns.

(a) *Lettere, ut sup.* App. No. CIV.

(b) *Guicciard. Storia d' Ital.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 67.

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 XII. this projected union, which might have subjugated
 A.D. 1514. all Europe to the dominion of a single sovereign.
 A. Et. 39. In this emergency a dawn of hope appeared in
 A. Pont. II. another quarter, of which the pope did not fail
 most eagerly to avail himself. Henry VIII. of
 England, who had acted so important and so honourable a part in the league against France, had learnt with extreme indignation that his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, had, without his concurrence, renewed his treaties with Louis XII. and had thereby, as he asserted, a third time deceived and imposed upon him; on which account he avowed his determination not to interfere further in the contest. (a) This change in the disposition and views of Henry was communicated by him to the pope, who was no sooner apprized of it, than he determined to encourage the resentment of Henry against his father-in-law, and to promote, as far as in his power, an alliance between the French and English sovereigns; well judging, that if he should be fortunate enough to accomplish this object, it would frustrate the treaty yet depending for the marriage of the archduke Charles with the daughter of Louis XII. Nor was Louis less inclined to listen to terms of accommodation than Leo was to propose them; being fully persuaded, that whilst he had so formidable an enemy as the king of England, who had lately carried the war into the heart of his dominions, he could not without extreme imprudence undertake his favourite expedition into Italy. Of this Leo was also sufficiently apprized; nor was he desirous of faci-

(a) *Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 72.*

litating the views of the French monarch; but of the two evils with which that country was now threatened, an attack upon Milan by the unassisted arms of the French appeared to him to be the least, as he still hoped to provide for its defence by the aid of the Swiss, with whom, in case an alliance took place between France and England, the emperor elect and the king of Aragon would probably join; whilst on the other hand the union of the powerful houses of France, Spain, and Austria, left not the slightest hope of successful resistance.

The high consideration in which Leo was now held both by the French and English monarchs afforded him the fairest prospect of success. To the former he had lately been solemnly reconciled, and had received him as a repentant son into the bosom of the church. In the dissensions between Louis and the Swiss, he had acted the part of a mediator; and although his interference had been unsuccessful, and he had in fact other purposes in view than the promoting the ambitious views of the king, yet it gave him fair pretensions to his confidence, and added weight to his opinions. Louis had lately been deprived of his queen, Ann of Bretagne, with whom he had lived in great harmony, and who died in the beginning of the year 1514, leaving behind her the reputation of a princess of extraordinary virtue, talents, and piety; an event which, as it afterwards appeared, was of no inconsiderable importance in facilitating and cementing the proposed reconciliation between the contending powers. With Henry VIII. the pope was upon terms of still closer amity. In the war with France, Henry had on all occasions avowed

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alliance be-
tween Eng-
land and
France.

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himself the champion of the holy see, and expressed his determination to frustrate the efforts of all schismatics. In return for his attachment and his services Leo had presented to him a consecrated sword and hat; a distinction conferred only on those princes who have obtained in person a signal victory in defence of the church. (a) But, what was of more importance, Wolsey, already bishop of Lincoln and of Tournay, was daily rising in the favour of his master, and was eagerly grasping at those higher preferments which Leo alone had it in his power to bestow. Under these flattering auspices Leo communicated his project to Bambridge, cardinal archbishop of York, who then resided at Rome as ambassador of the English monarch, (b) requesting him to represent to his sovereign, that after the glory which he had obtained in his contest with France, and the unexampled breach of faith which he had experienced from his allies, he might now with justice and honour consult his own interest, in effecting such a league with Louis XII. as might not only indemnify him for the expenses which he had sustained, but secure to him the result of his victories. (c) To this

(a) These honorary rewards “not so estimable for their materials as for their mystery,” were transmitted to England by Leonardo Spinelli, and were accompanied by an explanatory letter from the pontiff to the king, informing him of their value and use, of which he might not otherwise have been aware. v. App. No. CV.

(b) *Lettere di Balthazar da Pescia*, in App. No. CVI.

(c) Although Guicciardini seems not to have determined whether this negotiation arose from the interference of the pontiff, or the proper inclination of the parties, yet he fully admits that it commenced between the pope and the archbishop of York at Rome, “Come si sia, cominciò presto, o per l'autorità del pontefice, o per inclinazione propria delle parti, a nascere pratica

advice Henry listened with approbation; and in a conversation with the duke de Longueville, whom he had taken prisoner at the battle of Guingaste, and who seems to have obtained no small share of his confidence, he gave such indications of his pacific intentions, as induced the duke to acquaint his sovereign with this fortunate change in the disposition and views of the English monarch. No sooner was Louis apprized of this event, than he despatched Jean de Selva, president of the parliament of Normandy, as his envoy to the English court, upon whose arrival a truce was agreed on between the two monarchs, to continue as long as the ambassador should remain in England. (a) For the purpose of promoting this negotiation, the pope, also sent to Paris Lodovico Canossa, bishop of Tricarica, a man of noble birth, and of great ability and address, who after having prepared the way for pacific measures, proceeded thence to England. (b) These deliberations were not of long

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d'accordo tra il Re di Francia e il Re d' Inghilterra, i ragionamenti della quale, *cominciati dal Pontefice con Eboracense*, furono trasferiti presto in Inghilterra." *Storia d'Ital.* vol. ii. lib. xii. p. 73. The documents now produced will, however, shew, that the measure originated at Rome; a circumstance of which neither the Italian nor the English historians seem to have been sufficiently aware.

(a) *Balth. da Pescia, a Lor. de' Medici, 25. Maggio, 1514.* "Monsign. Reverendiss. (il card. de' Medici) crede che N. Signore non farà cosa alcuna nova, per non alterare le cose di là da' monti; dove di già ha cominciato qualche pratica d'accordo; et il Re d' Inghilterra ha acceptato di auscultare il Generale di Normandia per homo di Francia, *et tutto segue con ordine di sua Santità.*" *MSS. Flor.*

(b) "Di nuovo non ci è altro, salvo che Monsignore mi dice, che si aspetta la risoluzione de Tricarico, quale è andato al Christianissimo, per concordare queste cose di Francia et Inghilterra, et se ne spera bene." *Lettera di Balth. da Pescia, 30 Maii, 1514.*

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continuance. Louis XII. had fully authorized his envoy to conclude the proposed treaty; and in order to shew that his intentions were sincere, he directed the duke de Longueville to request in marriage for the French monarch, the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII. then only eighteen years of age. In the commencement of this negotiation, to which Wolsey was the only person admitted on behalf of the king of England, the demands of Henry were extravagant; but the representations of the duke de Longueville and the policy of Wolsey, who well knew that by promoting this alliance he should recommend himself to the favour of the Roman court, soon induced him to relax in his demands. The pride of Henry was also gratified by the proposed union between his sister and Louis XII. who, to use his own words, *had sought so gently unto him for both amytye and marriage.* (a) Some objections however arose respecting Tournay, of which Wolsey was yet bishop, to the restitution of which Henry positively refused to assent; and Canossa, the pope's legate, again hastened to France, to prevail upon Louis XII. to consent to its being retained by the English monarch. His efforts were successful; and the convenient recommendation of the French king's counsellors was procured, to shield their sovereign from the disgrace of having, by his own free will, assented to the dismemberment of his kingdom. (b) On the second day of August, 1514, the treaty was signed at London, by which the two sovereigns, after declaring that they

(a) *Rapin's Hist. of England*, book xv.

(b) *Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 73.*

have been chiefly induced to concur in this arrangement by the exhortations and mediation of the pope, bind themselves to afford each other mutual assistance in the prosecution of their rights and the defence of their respective dominions. (a) The claims of Louis XII. to the states of Milan and Genoa are explicitly asserted, and virtually admitted. The treaty is to continue during the joint lives of the contracting parties, and for one year afterwards, and they mutually promise to endeavour within twelve months to obtain from the pope a sentence of excommunication against him who should first infringe the terms. (b)

This treaty was immediately followed by two others between the same parties; the one for the marriage of the princess Mary with Louis XII. the other for the payment of a million of crowns by Louis to Henry, "as well for the arrears of certain sums already due, as on account of the good affec-

(a) It is remarkable, that the author of the league of Cambray asserts, "que le Pape entra dans le négociation peutêtre pour la refroidir plutôt que pour l'échauffer." To which he adds, "Ce qui est certain c'est que le card. d'Yorck, Christophe Bembrice, ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Rome, qui sçavoit les intentions du Pape, escrivoit souvent à son maitre pour le dissuader de faire la paix." Tom. ii. p. 363. If the cardinal of York wrote to this effect, it is evident that he either did not know or did not approve of the intentions of the pope, which are unequivocally expressed in the secret correspondence of the Medici family before referred to.

(b) *v. Rymer, Fœdera*, vol. vi. par. i. p. 64. *Dumont, Corps Diplom.* vol. iv. par. i. p. 183. On the signature of the treaty, Henry VIII. wrote to the pontiff, informing him, in terms of the highest esteem and respect, of the reconciliation which had taken place between him and Louis XII. which he justly attributes to the recommendation and interference of the pontiff. *v. App.* No. CVII.

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tion he bore him, and to the end that their amity might be the more lasting." By the treaty of marriage Henry agreed to convey his sister at his own expense to the city of Abbeville, where within four days after her arrival the king of France was solemnly to marry her. He also promised to give as her portion four hundred thousand crowns, one half of which should be reckoned for her jewels and preparations, and the other half deducted from the million of crowns agreed to be paid by Louis XII. who on his part undertook to make the jointure of his bride equal to that of Ann of Bretagne, or any other queen of France. (a)

These important negotiations were scarcely concluded, when messengers arrived at Paris from the emperor elect and the Spanish monarch, with full powers to ratify the proposed alliance, by the marriage of the archduke with the princess Renée, on such preliminary terms as the French monarch might approve; (b) but Louis had now less occasion for their support, and hesitated not to reject their overtures, and the princess afterwards became the wife of Ercole II. duke of Ferrara. It has been supposed by the English historians, that in his transactions with Louis XII. Henry suffered himself to be misled by his great favourite, and imposed upon by that monarch, who eventually prevailed upon him to rest satisfied with his bond for the million of crowns, which was the price at which Henry had estimated his friendship. But whatever were the private objects or private disappoint-

(a) *Rymer, Fœdera*, vol. vii. par. i. p. 68, &c. *Dumont, Corps Diplomati.* vol. iv. par. i. p. 188, &c.

(b) *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 74.

ments of the parties, it must be confessed, that as a great public measure of precaution for the safety of Europe it was one of the most important alliances that ever was formed; as it served not only to terminate the bloody contests between England and France, but prevented the coalition of the French monarch with the united houses of Spain and of Austria, and was well calculated to raise up a formidable barrier to that preponderating power which was shortly afterwards concentrated in the person of the emperor Charles V.

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The active part which Wolsey had taken in effecting this reconciliation recommended him still further to the favour of his sovereign, to whom an opportunity soon occurred of testifying his approbation. Whilst the treaty was yet depending, the cardinal archbishop of York, Christopher Bambridge, suddenly died, having been poisoned by Rinaldo da Modena,^(a) who is said to have confessed, on being put to the rack, that he was induced to commit the crime in revenge for a blow given him by his master.^(b) With this event

(a) I had in the former editions stated, that the cardinal died on *the twenty-fourth of July*, and had denominated Rinaldo *his steward*; but the real date of the cardinal's death was July 14th, as appears from a letter of the cardinal de' Medici to Henry VIII. dated that day, and cited by Mr. H. Ellis in his *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, vol. i. p. 100. Mr. Ellis has further observed that Rinaldo da Modena was not the *steward* of cardinal Bambridge, or Baynbrigge; but simply a priest, whom the cardinal employed in menial services in his chamber.*

(b) It appears, that when Rinaldo was required to sign his confession, he found an opportunity of stabbing himself, and died the following day; after which he was hanged and quartered, *in terrorem*. “ Questa mattina è stato appichato in ponte, et poi squartato,

CHAP. XII. the cardinal Giulio de' Medici immediately acquainted the king of England, at the same time informing him that the pope had resolved not to dispose of the livings held by the archbishop until the king's pleasure should be known. (a) Henry immediately requested that the archbishoprick of York might be conferred on his favourite Wolsey, with which the pope without hesitation complied, and thereby repaid the obligations which he owed to Wolsey for the active part which he had taken in the negotiation, under the appearance and with the credit of complying with the wishes of the king. (b)

Marriage of
Louis XII.
and Mary,
sister of
Henry
VIII.

The preparations for the marriage of the princess Mary occupied nearly two months, during which Louis XII. frequently addressed himself by letter to Wolsey, entreating him with all the impatience of a youthful lover to expedite the departure of his intended bride, and assuring him that his most earnest desire was to see her in France and find himself along with her. (c) On the second

Don Rinaldo da Modona, alias el *Pretino*, che era servitore del cardinale di Inghilterra; perchè dicono che ha confessato havere avenenato il suo patrono, el quale è stato molti dì in Castello, et sendo più volte examinato diligentemente, ultimamente, dicono, che venendo per ratificare, si dette d'uno coltellino nella poppa manca, che nissuno lo vidde; et volendolo porre ad la corda si venne mancho, et viddeno correre sangue, et trovorno come lui si era ferito; et questo fu Venerdì mattina, et Sabato sera circa 24 hori si morì, con buono sentimento; et così morto per dare exemplo ad li altri questa mattina lo hanno facto justitiare." *Bald. da Pescia, ad Lor. de' Med. 28. Agost, 1514. MSS. Fior.*

(a) v. Appendix, No. CVIII.

(b) Soon afterwards the king sent the cardinal de' Medici a present of two horses with splendid trappings, for which the cardinal returned a respectful letter of thanks. v. App. No. CIX.

(c) v. Appendix, No. CX. Mr. H. Ellis, in his *Original Letters*,

day of October, 1514, she embarked at Dover; to which place she had been accompanied by the king and queen, who then consigned her to the duke of Norfolk, to be conducted to Abbeville. A numerous train of the chief nobility also attended her to that city, where the marriage was celebrated with great splendour on the ninth day of the same month. After the ceremony her whole retinue was dismissed, except a few confidential attendants, among whom was Ann Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn. (a) The coronation took place shortly afterwards at Paris, on which occasion magnificent spectacles were exhibited, with jousts and tournaments, in which the duke of Suffolk and the marquis of Dorset came off with honour. The king and queen of France were spectators; but Louis, although not at an advanced age, was so infirm that he was obliged to recline upon a couch. (b)

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The important part which England had lately taken in the affairs of the continent, and the negotiations for the marriage of Louis XII. had opened a more direct intercourse between this and other countries than had before subsisted, and certainly contributed to promote, in no inconsiderable degree, the growth of those studies which had shortly before been transplanted from Italy

has also given a letter from the princess Mary to Louis XII. written before the marriage, vol. i. p. 114.*

(a) The dissatisfaction of the queen, on this unexpected dismissal of her English attendants, appears in a letter to her brother Henry VIII. in Mr. Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 116, where a list of their names is given.*

(b) *Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. & Rapin's Hist.* lib. xv.

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Singular interview between Erasmus and the papal legate Canossa.

by the labours of William Grocin, Thomas Linacer, Richard Pace, and other Englishmen. Among those learned foreigners who had fixed their residence here, and were honoured with the patronage and friendship of the great, was Andrea Ammonio, a native of Lucca, who held an important office in the English court, and who by his correspondence with Erasmus appears to have enjoyed the particular esteem of that eminent scholar, and to have been possessed of no inconsiderable share of talents and of learning.(a) The arrival of Canossa, the papal legate, who was one of the most accomplished men of his time, extended still further the literary intercourse between the two countries. For the better effecting the purposes of his important mission, he had laid aside his ecclesiastical character, and appeared only as a private gentleman, to which rank he had just pretensions both by his education

(a) Andreas Ammonius was an Apostolic notary, the pope's collector in England, Latin secretary to Henry VIII. and prebendary of St. Stephen's chapel in Westminster, and of Fordington and Writhington, in the church of Salisbury. *Jortin's Life of Erasmus*, p. 36. From a letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII. it appears, that some difficulties had arisen in the appointment of Ammonius to his office of receiver, which the pope submitted to the decision of the king. *Rymer, Fœdera*, vi. i. p. 86. The letters between Ammonius and Erasmus compose the chief part of the eighth book in the epistolary correspondence of the latter. He died of the *Sudor Britannicus*, or sweating sickness, in the year 1520, as appears by a letter from Sir Thomas More, in *Erasm. Ep.* lib. vii. ep. 4.

This *Andreas Ammonius* is not to be confounded with another Ammonius, a native of Ghent, and a Carthusian monk, who was also a correspondent of Erasmus, and who lived beyond the middle of the sixteenth century. (*Note of Count Bossi, Ital. ed.* vol. v. p. 163.)

and his birth. (a) Erasmus was then in England, and having been invited to dinner by his intimate friend Ammonio, he there met with a stranger in a long vest, his hair inclosed in a caul, or net, and attended only by one servant. After wondering for some time at what Erasmus calls his military air, he addressed his friend Andrea in Greek, and inquired who this person was; to which he received for answer in the same language, that he was an eminent merchant; which it seems Erasmus thought a sufficient reason for treating him with marked contempt. The party then sat down to dinner, when Erasmus and his friend entered into conversation on various topics, in which Erasmus did not fail to express his opinion of their associate, who he conceived was ignorant of the language in which he spoke. At length he adverted to the politics of the day, and inquired whether the report was true, that a legate was arrived from the pope to reconcile the differences between the French and English monarchs; observing, that the pope did not want his opinion, otherwise he should have recommended that not a word should have been said about peace; but should rather have advised the establishment of a truce for three years,

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(a) He was of a noble family of Verona, and before his ecclesiastical preferments, was denominated the count Lodovico Canossa. By his talents and integrity he acquired great authority and reputation, and was employed during the chief part of his life in the most important embassies, frequently in the service of Francis I. whose esteem and confidence he enjoyed in an eminent degree. His letters, many of which are published in the *Lettere di Principi*, under the signature of *Il Vescovo de Baiusa*, are written with great ability, and no less freedom with respect to the characters of the times; insomuch that they may be considered as the best in that collection.

CHAP. which might have given time for concluding ne-
 XII. gotiations. He then proceeded to make further
 A. D. 1514. inquiries respecting the legate, and asked whether
 A. Æt. 39. he was a cardinal, which led to a jocular contest
 A. Pont. II. between Erasmus and his friend, all which Canossa heard in silence. The patience of the latter being, however, at length exhausted, he first spoke a few words in Italian, and then turning towards Erasmus, told him in Latin, that he wondered he would reside in so illiterate a country, unless he chose to be the *only* scholar in England, rather than the *first* in Rome. Struck with the acuteness of this observation in a merchant, Erasmus replied that he was better satisfied with residing in a country where there were many men of great learning, among whom he might occupy the lowest place, than in Rome, where he should hold no rank whatever. (a) Erasmus did not, however, discover the imposition until he was afterwards informed of it by his friend, with whom he was in no small measure displeased; for, as he justly observes, he might perhaps have used some expressions respecting the legate, or even the pope, which might have proved to his disadvantage. (b) From this incident Erasmus imagined that the legate was offended with him; but this was so far from the truth, that Canossa after his return to France, whither he went as apostolic legate, and

(a) Erasmus has, on other occasions, spoken with great commendation of the state of literature in England, which in point of improvement he places next to Italy. "Procul abest ab Italia Britannia, sed eruditorum hominum æstimatione proxima est." *Ep. lib. xxiii. ep. 5.*

(b) The particulars of this incident are given by Erasmus himself, in a letter to Germanus Brixius. *Ep. lib. xxiv. ep. 24.*

where he was appointed by Francis I. (a) bishop of Bayeux, wrote to invite Erasmus to come and reside with him; promising not only to maintain him, but to pay him two hundred ducats yearly, and to provide him with two horses and two servants; (b) an offer which Erasmus did not choose to accept; and which it seems could not remove from his mind the illiberal dislike which he had conceived against a man whom he had first known and conversed with in the borrowed character of a merchant. (c)

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(a) M. Henry, the French translator, has here unaccountably substituted the name of Louis XII. for that of Francis I. *Fr. Tran.* 2nd ed. vol. ii. p. 309; an error which has been noticed by Count Bossi. *Ital. ed.* vol. v. p. 37. Note (a).*

(b) "Non voglio mancar di dirvi, che trovandomi in migliore fortuna del solito, ho scritto a quell' Erasmo, che sapete, che se vuol venire a viver meco, io gli darò dugento ducati l'anno, & le spese per due cavalli, e due bocche, e tanto otio per studiare, quanto esso saprà o vorrà prendere. Potrebbe essere, che si facesse beffe di me; & che m' invitasse con manco salario assai, perchè manco ne merito, ad andare a star seco; ma che faria di me? non sapendo io stampare, nè fare altra cosa che gli satisfacesse; se forse non si dilettaſſe di dir male al solito." *Lettera di Canossa, a Andrea Ammonio. Lettere di Principi*, vol. i. p. 18, b. In which last observation Canossa jocularly alludes to his first interview with Erasmus, at the house of his friend, to whom the letter is addressed.

(c) Erasmus, in the year 1532, thus speaks of Canossa: "Si nunc Canossa parum bene est in Erasmum animatus, nihil est novæ rei. Solet spretus amor in iram verti," &c. *Erasm. Ep.* lib. xxiv. ep. 24.

Count Bossi has, in one of his additional notes, given a general sketch of the life of Erasmus, prior to his interview with Canossa; *v. Ital. ed.* vol. v. p. 164. But the most satisfactory abridgment of the particulars of the life of this great man, has been recently published in the *Memoirs of Erasmus*, by Charles Butler, Esq. of Lincoln's-inn. Lond. 1825, 8vo.

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A. Pont. II.Splendid
exhibitions
at Florence.

Whilst Leo X. was diligently attending to every variation in the political horizon of Europe, the immediate direction of the Florentine state was still intrusted to his young nephew Lorenzo de' Medici, who continued to reside at that city, and to maintain the rank of his ancestors, as representative of the elder branch of his family. But notwithstanding the authority of Lorenzo, and the external form of a popular government which was still preserved, the city of Florence was at this time virtually governed by the Roman court, and Lorenzo himself acted only in conformity to such directions as he received from the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who was the organ of the papal will in all the transactions of the Tuscan state. The amity which now subsisted between the pope and the other European sovereigns restored to the city of Florence that tranquillity which it had not for many years enjoyed ; and its history at this period is little more than the succession of its public officers, and the records of those splendid exhibitions, of which one of the chief objects was to reconcile the minds of the inhabitants to the loss of their former independence. These exhibitions, first introduced by Lorenzo the Magnificent, were peculiar to that city, and were intended to unite the charms of poetry with the most striking effects of picturesque representation. (a)

(a) These observations are confirmed by Count Bossi, who has enumerated several of the dramatic performances, or *Rappresentazioni*, of the fifteenth century, which he had himself possessed ; and who warmly contends for the priority of the Italians in the introduction of a more correct style of theatrical representation “ *Queste feste, questi trionfi, queste pompe, questi spettacoli, possono considerarsi come d' invenzione tutta Italiana, e come un*

For this purpose some well known incident in ancient history, which might admit of the introduction of a splendid procession, was generally fixed upon, and neither expense nor labour was spared in displaying it to the utmost advantage. The triumph of Paulus Emilius had thus, in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, afforded a subject for the talents of Francesco Granacci, the fellow-pupil of Michael Agnolo, who had represented it with such a variety of invention, and in so characteristic a manner, as to have obtained great applause. Even after the exile of the Medici from Florence these exhibitions were occasionally continued, although with circumstances suitable to the more gloomy and superstitious character of the place. Among those who distinguished themselves by the singularity of their inventions was Piero di Cosimo, a Tuscan painter, who having made his preparations in secret, and engaged the necessary attendants, brought forth, in the midst of the public rejoicings of the city, *the Triumph of Death*. This he represented by a car drawn by black oxen, and painted with imitations of bones and skulls, intermingled with white crosses. On the car stood a large figure of death, armed with his scythe; and beneath, in the sides of the car, were openings representing sepulchres, from which, as often as the procession stopped, issued a troop of persons, who being

indizio del grado di civilizzazione, al quale gli Italiani giunsero prima delle altre nazioni; non potendosi riguardare come paragonabili alle invenzioni Fiorentine gli insulsi *misterj*; che forse, prima ancora di quell' epoca, eransi prodotti in Francia, e che erano ben lontani dal condurre alla formazione di un Teatro regolare, che venne immediatamente in seguito alle *Rappresentazioni succenate*." *Ital. ed.* vol. v. p. 167.

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clothed in black and painted with white, so as to imitate the bones of the human body, appeared in the gloom of night like so many skeletons. These figures, seating themselves on the car, sung the verses written for the occasion by Antonio Alamanni, among which were the impressive lines :

“ Fummo già come voi sete,
Voi sarete come noi;
Morti siam come vedete,
Cosi morti vedrem voi.” (a)

Once like you we were,
Spectres now you see ;
Such as we now are,
Such you soon shall be.

This spectacle, which was accompanied by great crowds of attendants with appropriate standards and devices, affected the whole city with mingled sentiments of surprise and horror; but the novelty of the sight, and the invention which it displayed, excused so bold an attempt, and even obtained for the artist great commendation. There is however reason to believe, that a deeper meaning was couched under this exhibition than might at first sight have been suspected, and that it was in fact intended by the adherents of the banished family of the Medici, to represent the wretched and death-like state of Florence, whilst deprived of those to whom she had been indebted for her former happiness and glory. (b)

(a) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, vol. ii. p. 387. The whole of this piece may be found in the *Canti Carnascialeschi*, p. 131. Ed. Fior. 1558.

(b) “ Senti dire io ad Andrea di Cosimo, ~~che~~^{che} fu con lui (Piero di Cosimo) a fare questa opera, ed Andrea del Sarto, che fu suo

The twenty-fourth day of June, in the year 1514, CHAP.
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being the anniversary festival of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of the city of Florence, and A. D. 1514.
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which had for ages been celebrated by the inhabitants with particular hilarity, was fixed upon by the young Lorenzo de' Medici for the exhibition of a splendid spectacle, accompanied with tournaments and rejoicings, intended to commemorate the return of the Medici to Florence and the recent elevation of the family. This intelligence no sooner arrived at Rome than it threw the whole court into commotion, and the concerns of nations and the interests of the church were forgotten for a while in the anticipated pleasures of this great event. Many of the cardinals requested permission to be present at Florence on the occasion. Among these were Cibò and Rossi, both near relations of the pontiff, the cardinals of Ferrara and of Aragon, Cornaro, Bibbiena, and Sauli; who having obtained the consent of the pope, prepared for their journey, and that the dignity of their rank might not prevent their sharing in the amusements of the populace, they determined to assume borrowed characters. (a) The cardinal Giulio de' Medici, although at that time indisposed, expressed his earnest desire to accompany his brethren; and even the supreme pontiff interested himself with such warmth in the preparation and conduct of this spectacle, as evidently demonstrated that he would himself have

Triumph of
Camilfus.

discepolo, e vi si trovò anch' egli, che fu opinione in quel tempo, che questa invenzione fusse fatta per significare la tornata della Casa de' Medici del 12. in Firenze; perchè allora, che questo trionfo si fece, erano esuli, e come dire morti, che dovessino in breve resuscitare," &c. *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, vol. ii. p. 36.

(a) *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor. App. No. CXI.*

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been present, had he not been prevented by a sense of the decorum due to his high station. He gave, however, positive directions that the most minute account of whatever might occur should be transmitted to him from day to day. (a) His brother Giuliano under less restraint, and accompanied by his friend Agostino Chigi, again visited his native place. (b) The principal incident proposed to be represented was the *Triumph of Camillus* after his victory over the Gauls. In order to give greater magnificence and novelty to the procession, Lorenzo requested that the pope would permit the elephant and other animals which had been presented to him by the king of Portugal, to be sent to Florence. This request the pope thought proper to decline, as far as respected the elephant, which it was alleged could not, on account of the tenderness of his feet, travel to so great a distance; but the two leopards and the panther were sent under the direction of the Persian keeper. That these spectacles, besides tending to reconcile the Florentines to their dependent situation, generally concealed some political allusion has already been observed; and the *Triumph of Camillus* was undoubtedly selected with a particular reference to the late expulsion of the French from Italy. The very recent accommodation of all differences between Louis XII. and the pope had, however, in some degree changed the disposition and views of the Roman court; and although it was not thought absolutely necessary to abandon the subject proposed and to adopt one of

(a) v. *Ibid.* App. No. CXII.(b) "M. Agostino Chisi si è partito di qua col Magnifico Giuliano," &c. *Lettera di B. da Pescia*, 19 Junii, 1514. MSS. Flor.

a less hazardous tendency, yet strict admonitions were given that nothing offensive to the French nation, who were stated to be particularly susceptible of such insults, should be allowed to take place. (a)

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The extreme attention paid by the Medici to the acquisition of popular favour and applause is strikingly manifested in the correspondence between Rome and Florence on this occasion. Lorenzo is reminded, that in the *giostra*, or tournaments, which were to take place, and of which great expectations had been formed, he should be particularly cautious in making such choice of his partisans as might insure his success, so that the honour might rest with the family, as had been usual on former occasions. He is also advised not to rely on the Florentines, but to engage on his party strangers who had been more accustomed to such exercises ; in other words, he was to assure himself of the victory before he entered the lists. (b). The prudent advice of his political preceptors was accompanied by the still more cautious admonitions of his mother Alfonsina, who then resided at Rome, and felt all the solicitude which a fond parent may be supposed to experience on such an occasion for an only son. " Your mother has been informed," says the faithful secretary, " that you practise yourself in tilting, wearing heavy armour, and managing the great horse, which may in all probability be injurious to your health. I can scarcely express to you how much she is dissatisfied with these proceedings. In the greatest distress,

Tourna-
ments.

(a) *Lettere di Balth. da Pescia*, MSS. Flor. App. No. CXIII.

(b) *Ibid.* App. No. CXIV.

CHAP. she has enjoined me to write to you on her behalf,
XII. and to observe to you, that although your ances-

A. D. 1514. tors have displayed their courage on similar occa-
A. Æt. 39. sions, yet you should consider who and what they
A. Pont. II. were. When Piero di Cosmo appeared in a tour-
nament, his father, who governed the city, was
then living, as was also his brother. At the time
Lorenzo exhibited, his father was also in being,
and he had a brother, Giuliano, the father of our
most reverend Cardinal; and when the same Giu-
liano tilted, Lorenzo himself governed. When
your father appeared in the lists, he had two sons
and two brothers; notwithstanding which he did
not escape blame. You are yet young, and the
magnificent Giuliano and yourself (both of you yet
unmarried, and he infirm in his constitution) are
the only support of the family. You cannot, there-
fore, commit a greater error than by persevering
in such conduct, and she recommends that you
should rather engage others in the contest and
stand by to enjoy the entertainment; thereby
consulting your own safety and preserving the
hopes of your family.”(a) How far these remon-
strances were effectual it is of little importance to
inquire; but they serve to shew with what an ha-
bitual solicitude every circumstance was regarded
which could contribute to the support and aggran-
dizement of the family of the Medici; when even
the solicitations of a mother to prevail on a son to
attend to his personal safety were supposed to be
most strongly enforced by such an argument.

The preparation of the apparatus on this occa-
sion, as far as respected the machinery and deco-

(a) v. *Lettere di Balih. da Pescia. MSS. Flor. App. No. CXV.*

rations of the painter, was intrusted to **Francesco Granacci**, the same artist who had displayed his talents with so much applause in the service of **Lorenzo the Magnificent**; and his invention and ability in executing the task imposed upon him are highly celebrated in the records of his art. (*a*) Besides the furnishing appropriate designs for the cars, standards, dresses, escutcheons, and emblems attending this magnificent spectacle, Granacci erected a triumphal arch opposite to the great gate of the monastery of **S. Marco**, in a rich and ornamental style of architecture. Several historical pieces finely painted, so as to imitate tablets in *basso rilievo*, and elegant statues modelled in clay, gave additional grandeur to this temporary structure, and on the summit of the arch appeared in large characters: (*b*)

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LEONI X. PONT. MAX. FIDEI CULTORI.

On the return of **Giuliano de' Medici** to **Rome** he was accompanied by his nephew **Lorenzo**, for the purpose of deliberating with the pope and the cardinal de' Medici on the measures to be adopted for increasing the power and authority of the family, and securing it against those dangers to which it might be exposed, in case it should be deprived of the protection of the pontiff. The cardinal had

Deliberations at Rome for aggrandizing the family of Medici.

(*a*) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, vol. ii. p. 388.

(*b*) *Vasari, Vite de' Pittori*, vol. ii. p. 388. It must however be observed, that Vasari is mistaken both in the year and the occasion of these rejoicings, which he placed in 1513, on the arrival of **Leo X.** at Florence. The celebration of this festival was in 1514, and **Leo** did not visit Florence until the end of the year following. The verses sung on this joyful occasion, written by the Florentine historian **Jacopo Nardi**, have been preserved in the *Canti Carnascialeschi*, and are given in the Appendix, No. CXVI.

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already made a decisive election in devoting himself to the church, and from his high station, and the influence which he now possessed, he was enabled to lay the foundations from which he hoped to rise to that supreme dignity which he afterwards obtained. It was therefore only in the persons of Giuliano and Lorenzo that the pope could realize those secular honours which he considered as necessary to the establishment and aggrandizement of his family. The character and disposition of these near relatives were however widely different. Of all the descendants of the Medici, Giuliano seems to have least inherited the ambition of his ancestors. Attached to the studies of polite literature, and delighted with the society of those men of learning and of talents whom he met with at Rome, he preferred the charms of private life to the exercise of that authority which was within his grasp. The delicacy of his constitution was perhaps an additional motive to the choice which he had made; yet he was not without pretensions to military honours, and had frequently been in arms during the various attempts of the Medici to re-establish themselves in their native place. His nephew Lorenzo had, on the contrary, already given sufficient indications of a bold and aspiring mind. Dissatisfied with the administration of the Florentine state, in which he held no ostensible rank, except such as he enjoyed in common with other citizens, he had already begun to estrange himself from the society of the inhabitants and to devote himself to military exercises, in the hope of being enabled, by the support of the pontiff, either to assume the absolute dominion of his native place,

or to obtain an independent sovereignty in some other part of Italy.

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Leo X.
forms de-
signs upon
the king-
dom of Na-
ples and the
duchies of
Ferrara and
Urbino.

The result of these deliberations appeared in the measures soon afterwards adopted by the pontiff; which have given occasion to the historians of these times to charge him with inconsistency in his designs and conduct, but which a nearer view of the state of Europe, compared with his own situation, and that of his family, will perhaps sufficiently explain. The character of Leo X. now stood high in the estimation of all the sovereigns of Christendom. Although not of royal descent, he was considered in his own person as the representative of the most respectable family in Europe that did not assume the insignia of sovereignty. To this was added the dignity of his high office, which entitled him to take the precedence of the proudest monarchs of the time; and these pretensions to superior respect were strengthened by the active and important part which he had taken in the political transactions of the times. It is true, it had been principally, if not wholly owing to his interference, that the emperor elect and the catholic king had been disappointed in their endeavours to effect the proposed alliance with the crown of France; but Leo had so conducted himself on this occasion as to retain the favour of those sovereigns, even whilst he counteracted their purposes. By the emperor elect and the Venetian state he had been appointed the arbiter of their differences; and although his decision had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the continual vicissitudes of the war, and the avarice and ambition of the cardinal of Gurck, (a) yet he still

(a) It appears from the private correspondence of the Medici

CHAP. maintained his credit with both parties. The in-
XII. fluence which he had acquired in the English coun-

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cils was apparent on many important occasions, and might be accounted for, not only from the great attachment and respect which Henry yet entertained for the Roman see, but from the earnest desire of Wolsey to ingratiate himself with the pontiff. Of all the European sovereigns, Louis XII. was the prince with whom Leo stood in the most delicate situation: yet Louis was the very potentate whose favour he considered as of greater importance to him than that of any of the rest. He was now fully convinced that it was not in his power to divert the king from his projected expedition against Milan; and as the facilities afforded the king by his new alliance with England, left little doubt of his success, it became a subject of serious deliberation to the pontiff how he might best counteract the injurious consequences of this measure, or rather how he might convert it to the advantage of himself and his family. For this purpose he turned his views towards the kingdom of Naples, conceiving, that from the advanced age of Ferdinand of Spain, an opportunity would soon be afforded, both to Louis XII. and himself, of interfering in its concerns, and perhaps of occupying its government, to the exclusion of the young archduke; for whom it would not in such case be difficult to find sufficient employment in other parts

family, that the cardinal wished to obtain 20 or 25,000 ducats from the Venetians, and the dignity of legate from the pope. As this information is derived from the confidential secretary who was employed in this transaction, there can be no doubt of its authenticity. *v. Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor. Appendix, No. CXVII.*

of his widely dissevered dominions. This important acquisition Leo probably destined for his brother Giuliano; whilst the state of Tuscany, to which he also hoped to unite the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, were the intended inheritance of his nephew Lorenzo. By these means the family of the Medici would have enjoyed a decisive superiority over any other in Italy, and by the subsequent union of these territories, which was likely to take place at no distant period, would have held an important rank among the sovereigns of Europe.

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No sooner was this ambitious project determined on at Rome, than Leo not only began openly to relax in his opposition to the king respecting his pretensions on the Milanese, but actually to make representations to him to prevent his relinquishing his projected enterprize; assuring him that the Spanish army in Italy was greatly diminished in its numbers; that the soldiery were unpaid, the people of Milan wretched and dissatisfied, and that with respect to the Swiss, there was no one who would undertake to subsidize them, and that it was well known they would not move without such an inducement. At the same time he gave the king to understand that he would exert his influence with Ottaviano Fregoso, to restore the authority of the king at Genoa, where the fortress of the *Lanterna* was yet in possession of the French. After having thus manifested his dispositions, Leo addressed himself to the cardinal Sanseverino, who was then considered as the agent of the French monarch at Rome, (a) by whose means he proposed

Secret alliance between the pope and Louis XII.

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to the king, that as the jealousy of other powers would not at this juncture permit them to enter into an ostensible and avowed alliance, it was his desire that they should at least lay the foundation of that future union which he hoped would ere long be established between them. For this purpose the pope transmitted to the king certain minutes, as heads of a private treaty, on which he requested to know his sentiments. The French monarch in reply, expressed his acknowledgments for the confidence placed in him by the pontiff; but whether some of these propositions were of such a kind as to require long deliberation, or whether any other circumstance prevented the king from returning an earlier answer, certain it is, that he did not send his definitive reply to Rome for the space of fifteen days, or upwards. Although this delay may appear inconsiderable, yet from the critical nature of the business, it alarmed the pontiff, who probably conceived, that if Louis disclosed this communication to the emperor elect and the king of Spain, it might draw down upon him their resentment. He therefore availed himself of an opportunity which was afforded him in this interval of renewing his treaties with those sovereigns for the term of a year, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to the mutual defence of their respective states. The reply of the king of France to the proposals of the pope arrived immediately after the signing these treaties, and the king thereby expressed his entire approbation of the terms of amity offered by the pontiff; suggesting, however, that as one article in the minutes obliged the king to the protection of the Tuscan

state, and of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, it would be necessary that they should become parties in the engagement. On the arrival of this answer, the pope excused himself to the king for his apparent precipitancy in renewing his treaties with the houses of Aragon and Austria, the cause of which he attributed in some degree to the unexpected hesitation of the king himself. This apology Louis thought proper to consider as satisfactory, and the convention was agreed on. In order, however, to prevent the terms from transpiring, they were not declared by any public instrument, but remained in the form of a schedule under the signature of the respective parties. (a)

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These extraordinary measures are attributed by a great contemporary historian to the artifice and insincerity of the pope, who either conceiving that the king of France would undertake this expedition without his incitement, expected in case it should prove successful, to secure his favour; or knowing that in the truce which Louis had entered into with the Spanish monarch and the emperor elect, it was stipulated that he should not attack the state of Milan, was desirous of embroiling him with those powers. (b) It may, however, be presumed, that Leo had yet more important objects in view, and that he was at this period sincere in his endeavours to prevail upon the French monarch to make another descent upon Italy. The secret treaty undoubtedly contained some articles favourable to the advancement of the family of the Medici, and Leo might suppose that if he assisted

Motives of
Leo X.

(a) *Guicciard. Storia d'Ital.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 75.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 76.

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the king in the accomplishment of so favourite an object as the recovery of Milan, he might in return expect his aid in obtaining the sovereignty of Naples; a proposition to which there is indeed reason to believe that the French monarch had given his express consent. (a) If this great object could have been accomplished, Leo would not only have laid the foundation of a splendid monarchy in his own family, but would have rescued the most extensive state in Italy from the opprobrium of a foreign yoke. In sacrificing to this acquisition the duchy of Milan, he might also perhaps have looked forwards to a time when he might be able, by the aid of the Swiss, with whom he still maintained a secret but strict alliance, (b) to repeat the part which he had acted on a former occasion; and thus by liberating Italy from both the Spaniards and the French, to place on the head of his brother the only crown of which that country could boast.

(a) Guicciardini himself informs us, that the king of Spain was apprehensive, and not without reason, that the pope aspired to the kingdom of Naples for his brother Giuliano: lib. xii. p. 74: to which he afterwards adds, “che il Re di Francia prometteva aiutare il pontefice ad acquistare il Regno di Napoli, o per la Chiesa, o per Giuliano suo fratello,” lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 76, a circumstance which fully explains the conduct of the pontiff, in attempting to prevail on the king of France to hasten his expedition to Italy.

(b) “Per l’ultima mia di hieri me scordai dire ad V. S. circa le Svizeri, come Monsignore Rmo. me haveva detto; che N. Signore continuando li pacti della Lega vecchia con loro, li manda fra pochi dì danari, et farà ogni cosa de confermarla, &c. Et che io ricordi ad quella per sempre, che di simili avisi non voglia conferire con alcuno, salvo che ad qualche proposito suo, et che solo questa si fa, acciochè V. S. sappia come le cose passano et non per communicarle.” *Balth. da Pescia a Lor. de’ Med.* 26 Mai, 1514. *MSS. Flor.*

In order to confirm the proposed union between the French monarch and Leo X. it had been further agreed, that a family alliance should be formed between them, by the marriage of Giuliano de' Medici with Filiberta, daughter of Philip, duke of Savoy, and sister to Louisa, the mother of Francis, duke of Angoulême, who succeeded at no distant period to the crown of France by the name of Francis I. This marriage, notwithstanding the important alterations which soon afterwards occurred, was celebrated in the early part of the ensuing year, and although unproductive of any offspring, probably led the way to those future alliances by which the family of the Medici became so closely connected with the royal house of France, and which all Christendom has had such ample reason to deplore.

But whether the proposed attempt was frustrated by the unexpected hesitation of the king, and the consequent engagements of the pontiff with other powers, or by the reluctance of Giuliano de' Medici to take an active part in so bold and hazardous a transaction, certain it is, that Leo soon abandoned his representations to Louis XII. on this subject, and began to adopt the most decisive measures for the defence of his new possessions in Lombardy, and for defeating the projected expedition of the French monarch against the states of Milan. He therefore gladly availed himself of an opportunity afforded him by the necessities of the emperor elect Maximilian, of purchasing from that sovereign the city and state of Modena, for a sum of forty thousand gold ducats, subject to a right of redemption in the emperor on repayment of

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Leo obtains
the city of
Modena.

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the money, which there was not the slightest probability that he would ever be enabled to reimburse. (a) This acquisition was of the utmost consequence to the pontiff, as it opened an uninterrupted communication between the states of the church and the cities of Reggio, Parma, and Piacenza, and in conjunction with those territories composed a rich and populous district of no inconsiderable extent and importance.

Leo endeavours to reconcile the Venetians with the king of Spain and the emperor elect.

In the mean time, the war between the emperor elect Maximilian, and the king of Spain, on the one part, and the Venetian state on the other, was carried on with great activity; and as the latter was considered as the bulwark of Europe against the Turks, Leo availed himself of the information lately received respecting the successes of the Turkish arms, to attempt once more to effect a reconciliation between the contending powers, well knowing that if he could detach the Venetians from their alliance with Louis XII. it would either prevent his proposed expedition to Milan, or in all probability frustrate his expected success. To this end he despatched as his legate to Venice the celebrated Pietro Bembo, who still enjoyed the office of his domestic secretary, with directions to exert all his efforts for the purpose of prevailing on his countrymen to listen to such overtures of pacification as the pope was already authorized on the part of their adversaries to propose.

Legation of Bembo to Venice.

Bembo having undertaken this task, proceeded from Rome towards his native place; and that he might not commit himself by any unguarded expression in a negotiation of so delicate a nature,

he, in the course of his journey, reduced into writing the arguments which he judged proper on such an occasion, which he read as a *proposto* or proposition from the pontiff to the senate. This singular document yet remains, and throws a strong light on the state of public affairs, and on the conduct which the pope thought it consistent with his duty or his interest to pursue. (a) After expatiating in ample terms on the services which the pope had sought to render to the republic, the orator adverts to the part which Leo X. had acted in effecting a reconciliation and alliance between France and England, and to the encouragement which he had given to Louis XII. to attempt the conquest of Milan, “whence he expected some advantages might have accrued to the Venetian state.” The delay of the king in this long threatened attempt is attributed to his indifference, or to his weariness of a contest which had involved him in such enormous expense. Under these circumstances, the legate earnestly advises the Venetians to terminate their differences with the emperor elect and the king of Spain, and to abandon their alliance with France; in which case he proposes to them, on the authority of his catholic majesty, that all their continental possessions occupied by their enemies, excepting only the city of Verona, then held by the emperor, should be restored to them; they paying to the emperor four hundred thousand gold florins, or such other sum as the pope should judge reasonable. In directing the attention of the senate to the improbability of their deriving any future benefit from their alli-

(a) v. Appendix, No. CXVIII.

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A.D. 1514. **says he, "be expected, but believed, that the king**
 A.  t. 39. **of France has relinquished his attempt upon Italy.**
 A. Pont. II. **Some months have elapsed since he concluded the treaty with England, at which time he had twenty thousand men in arms for this enterprise, and might have engaged in it with the consent and favour of the pope, and with the reputation acquired by his new alliance. At that time he might also have attacked his adversaries whilst they were unprepared and unwilling to oppose him, as well from other circumstances, as from their reverence for his holiness, who would openly have favoured his cause. If therefore he would not engage in this attempt, although invited and solicited by the pope, how can it be supposed that he will now undertake it, when the Swiss, the Spaniards, the emperor, the states of Milan, of Florence, and of Genoa, are all united with his holiness to oppose him, and are employed in preparations for that purpose? Add to this, that he has lately married a beautiful wife, who will daily withdraw his mind more and more from the concerns of war. There are indeed some who think that these nuptials will abridge his days, or rather render them very short indeed; considering that he is already advanced in years, not remarkable for his continuance, and devoted to the love of this young damsel, who is not more than eighteen years of age, and the most beautiful and attractive woman that has been seen in France for many years. In short, he is said to be already on the decline, and to have contracted complaints which will shortly bring**

him to the grave." When the legate ventured not only to utter, but to commit to writing such observations as these on so great a monarch, the avowed ally of his master, it is no wonder that he entreated his hearers "in the name of heaven to bury them in eternal secrecy." After having exerted all his eloquence in endeavouring to prevail on the senate to accede to his propositions, he proceeds to lay before them in strong terms the consequences of their refusal, which he asserts will infallibly lead to a conclusion of the treaty already in agitation between the king of Spain, the Swiss, the states of Milan, Genoa, and Florence, and the pope; who would be under the necessity of regarding the Venetians as their common enemy.

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But although this oration has been regarded as a specimen of diplomatic skill and eloquence, it failed to produce the intended effect on the minds of the Venetian senators; nor can it be denied, that in committing topics of so delicate a nature to the formality of a written composition, the Roman legate acted the part rather of a scholastic rhetor, than of a judicious negotiator. A few days afterwards Bembo was again admitted into the senate, when a written paper was read to him in reply to his oration; by which, after expressions of respect to his holiness, the senate refuses either to relinquish Verona to the emperor, or to annul their alliance with the king of France. (a) This answer was immediately despatched to Rome by Agostino Beazzano, a scholar of considerable eminence who accompanied Bembo on his legation; and Bembo

The senate
refuses to
comply with
his proposi-
tions.

(a) The letters from Bembo to Leo X. containing the particulars of his embassy, are given in the Appendix, No. CXIX.

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himself soon afterwards followed ; but he was so fatigued with his journey that he was obliged to rest on his return a few days at Pesaro, where he met with his friends Madonna Emilia Pia and the duchess Elizabetta, the widow of Guidubaldo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino. Bembo was aware that he might incur the suspicion of having feigned indisposition, that he might enjoy the society of these amiable and accomplished women ; but in a letter to the cardinal da Bibbiena, which bears date the first day of the year 1515, he makes the most solemn asseverations that his illness is not a pretext ; and if his assurances were not believed, his delay was excused by his friends and patrons at Rome. (a)

Historical
mistakes re-
specting this
negotia-
tion.

This embassy of Bembo to the Venetian state was not only unproductive of those advantages which the pontiff expected to derive from it, but, if we may place implicit confidence in some of the historians of those times, tended to injure the character of the pontiff in the estimation of the French monarch ; who is said to have been now fully convinced of the insincerity of the pope, and to have renewed his negotiations with Ferdinand of Spain, preparatory to his intended attack on the states of Milan. (b) Frequently, however, as this has been

(a) v. Appendix, No. CXX.

(b) “ Manifestarono al Re di Francia la cagione della venuta di Bembo, donde il Re, dispiacendogli che in tempo tanto propinquo a muovere l'armi, cercasse di privarlo de gli aiuti de suoi confederati, rinovò le pratiche passate col Re Catolico,” &c. *Guicciard.* lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 77. “ Ma l'aver egli (il pontefice) inviato a Venezia il celebre Pietro Bembo, per istaccare quella repubblica dall' alleanza co' Francesi, senza pero poterla smuovere, fece al fin capire al Re Lodovico che capitale avesse egli a fare delle belle proteste di questo Pontefice.” *Murat. Annal. d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 107.

repeated as matter of reproach to the pontiff, it may with confidence be asserted that Louis was never informed of the result of this negotiation, and consequently that he could not have manifested that dissatisfaction with the conduct of the pope which has been so positively attributed to him. (a) On the very day that Bembo wrote the before mentioned letter from Pesaro, his prophetic representations respecting Louis XII. were fulfilled by the death of that monarch; which event is also said to have been occasioned by the cause to which Bembo with so much confidence attributed it; he having survived his marriage only eighty days. It is not therefore to be supposed, that the purport of a negotiation which only terminated at Venice towards the end of December, could be conveyed to France prior to the first day of January;

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A. A. 40.
A. Pont. III.

Death of
Louis XII.

(a) "Ce fut toute la satisfaction qu'il eut de sa négociation, dont les Vénétiens firent part aussitôt au Roi leur Allié. Cette confiance éclaira Louis XII. sur les véritables sentimens d'un Pape qui tentoit toutes sortes de voyes pour séduire ses amis, dans le temps qu'il le faisoit assurer qu'il avoit le génie et le cœur tout François. Ce prince résolut enfin de ne plus compter sur lui, qu'en cas qu'il donnât d'autres assurances de sa sincérité que des protestations affectueuses." *Ligue de Cambray*, lib. iv. tom. ii. p. 375. "Mais le Pape fut obligé de s'expliquer clairement. Pour forcer le pape à le faire, l'homme du Roi se servit de l'envie qu'avoit sa Sainteté de ménager toujours la France. Il lui dit, avec la vivacité et l'énergie Francoise, que Louis XII. prendroit pour rupture et pour marque d'une inimitié irréconciliable le refus d'une réponse à ses propositions. Leon X. portant alors sa main gauche au coude de son bras droit, et l'élevant, dit qu'il donneroit ce bras pour voir le Roi de France en possession de son héritage, sans qu'il en coûtât une mer de sang à la Chrétienté; et il employa les biais les plus subtils des frases Florentines et tous les détours du jargon de Rome pour esquiver, et se défendre de donner une réponse plus formelle," &c. *Murat. Annal. d'Ital.* vol. x. p. 385.

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much less is it likely that Louis, when at the point of death, should have had either leisure or disposition to attend to political discussions; and at all events it is wholly impossible, that those subsequent negotiations should have taken place between Louis XII. and the pope, which are related at great length by writers of credit, and have given occasion to severe animadversions on the supposed duplicity and treachery of the Roman pontiff. (a) But as it is difficult to conceive, that the authors referred to can be mistaken on a subject in which they have almost uniformly concurred, it may be necessary further to relate, that on the departure of Bembo from Venice, two envoys were despatched by the senate to the kings of England and of France, for the ostensible purpose of congratulating them on the restoration of peace, and on the alliance which had been so happily established between them. The ambassador to France was further instructed to assure the French monarch of the invariable fidelity and attachment of the senate to his cause, and to incite him by every possible effort to send an army into Italy without further delay; but whilst these envoys were yet on their journey, they received intelligence of the death of the French king, which terminated the chief object of their mission, and obliged them to wait for the instructions of the senate respecting their further destination. (b) Whatever therefore might have been

(a) *Guicciard. lib. xii. Ligue de Cambray, lib. iv. &c.*

(b) This relation is confirmed by the positive authority of the Venetian historian Paruta, who adds, “*Queste cose furono à gli Ambasciatori commesse; ma mentre ancora essi ritrovansi nel viaggio, il Re Lodovico, soprapreso da grave infermità, vi lasciò la vita.*” *Paruta, Hist. Ven. lib. ii. p. 102.*

the feelings, or the resentment, of Louis XII. had he lived to have been informed of the embassy of Bembo, it is sufficiently apparent that the sarcastic remarks on the conduct of the pontiff to which this incident has given rise, have been falsely attributed to that monarch, and can only be considered as the fabrication of those who have substituted the fictions of their own fancy for the authentic records of historical truth.

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The latter events in the life of Louis XII. had greatly diminished the glory which he had acquired in the former part of his reign; and the sanguinary and fruitless victories of Ghiaradadda and Ravenna were counterbalanced by the insults and defeats which he suffered from Leo X. and Henry VIII. the former of whom had expelled him from Milan, and the latter had established the English arms in the midst of his dominions, and reduced him to the necessity of securing, by the stipulated payment of an enormous sum of money, the safety of the rest. That inordinate and blind ambition which sacrifices the peace and happiness of a country to the vain expectation of foreign acquisitions, the attainment of which is often a greater misfortune than the miscarriage of the attempt, is in no instance more to be lamented than in that of Louis XII. who, if he had not been misled by this deplorable frenzy, would indeed have merited the appellation bestowed upon him by his subjects, of the father of his people. Throughout his whole reign no new taxes were imposed in his dominions. He was the first sovereign who secured the peasantry of France from the rapacity of the soldiery, who were before accustomed to plunder them with im-

His character.

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punity : and his memory was rendered dear to his country by his edict in 1499, by which he ordered that the law should on all occasions be strictly enforced, notwithstanding any contrary directions which the importunity of individuals might obtain from the sovereign. (a)

His widow
marries
Charles
Brandon,
duke of
Suffolk.

About two months after the death of the king, his young and beautiful widow married the accomplished Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, to whom she is supposed to have been attached before her former marriage, and who attended her to France, although he was not nominated as one of the embassy. Mezerai asserts that the duke of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. caused this English lord to be narrowly watched, lest he should give the king a successor. This second marriage was a cause of great displeasure to Henry VIII. but his sister assuming the blame to herself, and protesting that she had almost compelled the duke to this rash action, the anger of the king was not of long duration. The progeny of this marriage was numerous. Frances, one of the daughters, married Henry Grey, afterwards duke of Suffolk, by whom she became the mother of the accomplished and unfortunate lady Jane Grey, who reluctantly contended with the bigot Mary for the crown of England. The other descendants of the princess Mary, intermarrying with the English nobility, have diffused a portion of the royal blood through many of the principal families in the kingdom.

(a) Count Bossi has in his additional notes, entered more fully into the character of Louis XII. which he has represented in a more favourable point of view ; for the particulars of which I must refer to *Ital. ed.* vol. v. p. 169.*

APPENDIX.

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No. LII.

(Page 9.)

*Storia d' Italia di Gio. Ant. Summonte, vol. iii. p. 551.
cor. 615.*

Petri Summontii Neapolitani.

AUSONIÆ splendor, durisque exercite bellis,
Hector, ab antiquis quem genus ornat avis ;
Æquasti veterum qui fortia facta virorum,
Heroi tollens invidiam generis ;
I felix, i quære alio sub sole triumphos,
Non datur in patriis nomen habere locis.
Si non Alcides charis migrasset ab Argis,
Non foret Eois notus, et Hesperiiis :
Fertur post varios insigni Marte labores
Ferrea Tartareæ janua aperta domus.
Fertur Iasoniæ pubes commissa carinæ,
Ausa maris tumidas prima secare vias.
Cessite Gangaridum, Lenæi gloria, Tellus ;
Pelleo et longe Fama petita Duci.
In pretio semper nimio peregrina fuere,
Nescio cur, sordent dum sua cuique domi.
Adde quod, et melius translata reponitur arbos ;
Tanta est mutati gratia, honosque soli.
I felix, nec te Patria, aut remorentur amici,
Aut de cognato sanguine fidus amor.
Fortibus omne solum Patria est, hos adjuvat ipsa
Virtus, et his cœlum, terraque nuda favet.

Prima tibi vicisse pios Victoria amores ;
 Incipe mox laudes accumulare novas.
 Nec tibi deerunt, æternis qui grandia chartis
 Facta canant, digna concelebrentque lyra.
 Quis neget assiduo renovari sæcula cursu,
 Quin meliora potest ducere longa dies.
 En sopita diu, surgit tandem inclyta virtus,
 Heroesque novos sæcula nostra ferunt.
 Æmulus Iliaco, nostris fuit Hector in armis :
 Pro decore Italiæ prælia honesta gerens ;
 Hector, propositæ cessit cui gloria palmæ,
 Devictis Gallis nomen in Ausonium.
 Nullius hic armis cedat, quoscunque vetustas
 Et Graia, et Latia jactat in Historia.
 Tempus erit, quo te, Dux o fortissime, postquam
 Sub titulos ierint plurima bella tuos,
 Te Capua excipiat, spoliisque assurgat opimis
 Porrigat et meritis laureaserta comis ;
 Cum Patres, equitesque et Plebs numerosa merentem,
 Deducant Patrii limina ad alta Jovis ;
 Cum vox omnis Io clamet, geminataque ad auras,
 Reddat Io, cum te femina virque canat.
 Hoc precor, huic utinam servant me Numina Fannæ,
 Hæc celeri veniat sydere fausta dies.

*Marci Hieronymi Vidæ, XIII. Pugilum certamen.
 Ad Balthassarem Castaleonem.*

UT collata olim paribus certaverit armis
 Gallorum atque Italum virtus, cum fœdere pacto
 Æquati numero pugnam delecta Juventus,
 Hinc atque hinc iniere, cano tua jussa secutus,
 Castaleon, decus o nostrum, sate gente Deorum,
 Quem teneant licet arma, et duri munera Martis,
 Interdum tamen Aonios invisere fontes
 Nota juvat loca, nec teneris conceptus ab annis
 Dulcis amor cessit Musarum pectore ab alto.
 Illæ te comites vadentem in bella sequuntur,
 Semper et arcitenens calamis te propter Apollo

Prælia init nebula circumdatus. Huc ades ergo,
 Sive umbrosa tenent patrii te flumina Minci,
 Seu colis Urbium, seu te nunc Regis amici
 Jus proprium defendentem Mavortia Roma
 Miratur, Sanctique Patres. Dis gloria postquam
 Obstitit Italiæ, visumque evertere gentem,
 Victores Galli dederant qui sub juga nuper
 Insubrum dictas quondam de nomine terras,
 Abdua quas secat, et fluvio Ticinus amœno,
 Campanas urbes, et Parthenopeia adorti
 Marte reposcebant regna, et jam castra tenebant
 Qua rigat æquorea Liris læta arva Suessæ.
 Gentis ductor erat magnis Neumurtius ausis,
 Hispanus contra qui tum sceptrum illa tenebat,*
 Seque Itali opposuere una communibus armis,
 Ingentes populi parte ex utraque, diuque
 Hærebant nutans dubio victoria Marte.
 Forte autem cum pacta dies suspenderet arma,
 Et Belgæ errarent, mistique impune Latini,
 Hispanique Duces, virtutem illudere dictis
 Ausoniam Antinion ausus, indigna relatu
 Jactabat largus verborum, ac dira canebat.
 Surrexere Italis iræ, et violentia gliscens.
 Nulla mora est: magnum subito ecce per agmina murmur
 Exoriturque repens vasto discordia motu.
 Arma fremunt Senones, fremit Italis arma Juventus,
 Arma Hispana cohors, diversus ad æthera passim
 Clamor it, et magno caluerunt corda tumultu.
 Nec dubium, quin Martem animis, quin prælia inissent
 Jam tum dura manu, gentis ni ductor uterque
 Quisque suos subito revocassent, seque dedissent
 In medium, ac sævas jussis haud mollibus iras
 Frenassent. Sed non Italos potis ulla tenere
 Vis, adeo ignescunt animis, Gallosque reposcunt
 Ad pœnas, solique volunt decernere ferro,
 Jurgiaque ultrici haud toleranda refellere dextra.
 Jamque parant penitus socio discedere bello,

* Hispana contra qui tum sceptrum illa tenebat.

Ni liceat ; seque ante Ducem Fermoscius offert,
 Qui Belgas contra Capyos ducebat ab urbe
 Mille viros, illum stimulis agitabat amaris
 Ante alios ardens dolor, atque his vocibus infit.

Magnanime o gentis, Consalvi, gloria Iberæ
 (Rex hunc in Latio dederat rerum esse magistrum)
 Hispanum, pariterque Italorum fortissime Ductor,
 Cui nos arma manu gerimus præsentia, et ultro
 Objicinus certis animas in bella periclis,
 Si te tangit honos, decoris si cura Latini,
 Aut socios Italos dignaris, dedecus ingens
 Da nostris abolere armis, aut dicta retractet
 Gallus iners vesana, vel huic si conscia virtus
 Ulla subest, dextra haud segni, et certamine firmet.
 Illum ego in arma voco, utrum ne etsi tendere contra *
 Audeat ingenti Gallorum ex agmine quisquam,
 Nec lingua tantum valeant, sed et acribus ausis,
 Huc adeant, virtutem Italam experiantur in armis.
 Sic fatus fremit arma, vocatque in prælia Belgas.
 Par socios simul ardor agit, simul ore fremebant
 Cuncti eadem, nec parte alia furor, iraque Gallos, &c."

No. LIII.

(Page 18.)

*Ex op. Joannis Aurelii Augurelli. Iamb. Carm. ii. ex. Lib.
 superaddito.*

AD JULIUM II. PONTIFICEM.

*In communi omnium summi ejusdem Pontificatus plausu
 Gratulatio.*

SECUNDE Juli pontifex Sanctissime,
 Optate cunctis gentibus diu pater,
 Electe summo nunc jubente cœlitum,
 Patrumque votis omnium faventibus,
 Jam quisque pro se gratulantes offerunt

* Illum ego in arma voco, utrum etsi tendere contra.

Tibi, quod esse deditæ signum queat
 Mentis ; Potentes urbium volentium,
 Rerumque firma publicarum pectora
 Legationibus datis frequentibus
 Spondent, fidemque dedicant læti suam :
 Tanquam daturi prodeant majus nihil.
 At qui minori sorte victum temperant,
 Omnes opellam pollicentur uberem,
 Præstare qualem diligens virtus potest :
 Quos ut tuorum scripseris scinel gregi,
 Dignere læto contueri lumine.
 Spe cujus ultro motus ipse gratiæ
 Ausim reposti collis ad cacumina
 Repens anhelans ac laborans tendere :
 Ubi sorores floribus sertum novem
 Texunt micantibus, æmulisque syderum :
 Quod inde mecum deferens tibi sacrum
 Pergam superbis dedicare postibus
 Templi, quod ulnis sustines unus tuis.
 Ne prorsus ergo seduli munusculum
 Vatis, pusillum sit licet, despexeris.
 Nec ille namque cujus hic vicem geris,
 Rerum supernus fabricator omnium
 Terris inhabitans parvulos contempserat.

Dialogo di Guidobaldo I, e del Duca Valentino.

“ AVEA il Duca *Guidobaldo* ne' primi ragionamenti avuti col Pontefice *Giulio* chiesta sommaria giustizia pe' torti ricevuti contro il *Valentino* : il quale avendo ciò risaputo, cominciò a temere di sè medesimo, vedendolo non solo congiunto di parentela, ma di sì grande amicizia e familiarità col Papa e volentieri (quando l' offesa gli avesse paruta in qualche modo scusabile) avrebbe tentato via di placarlo. Ma quando pensava fra sè con quali modi si fosse portato seco, e come senza alcuna ragione, o cagione colorata almeno o apparente, avesse cercato di levargli non pure lo stato, ma la vita insieme, parendogli cose al tutto immeritevoli di perdono, cadeva da quel pensiero. Ma alla fine ricordandosi della benigna

natura del Duca molto bene conosciuta da lui, non poteva persuadersi che per offese quantunque intollerabili, egli avesse mutato costume. Confortato dunque da questa speranza, e ripreso cuore, deliberò, checchè se ne avvenisse, di tentare di renderlosi, se non al tutto placato, almeno più leggermente adirato. Fattogli quindi con buoni mezzi sapere che desiderava di ragionar seco, non trovò resistenza. Il che preso per buon principio, se ne andò a trovarlo con alcuni pochi più principali de' suoi, che avendolo seguito nella prosperità, non lo avevano abbandonato nella miseria: e parve grande spettacolo a coloro che vi si abbattono, il vedere che un uomo pochi giorni avanti superbo nella sua felicità, figliuolo di persona sì grande, capitano di floritissimo esercito, signore di molti popoli, desiderato amico da' primi potentati e re dell' Europa, temuto da Principi e dalle Repubbliche grandi, e che faceva tremar col cenno una parte non piccola nè ignobile dell' Italia, fosse poi caduto sì tosto da cotanta altezza a tale abbassamento, e si trovasse fra le mani di nemici potenti ed offesi, nudo e spogliato quasi in tutto de' passati acquisti, e quasichè fuori d' ogni speranza di conservare gl' infelici avanzi della sua grandezza. Era egli, come scrivono, di volto per natura infuocato, e sanguigno: ma allora per la infermità, per gli affanni e per la vergogna, pallido e afflitto in guisa che la disposizione della faccia corrispondeva in tutto alla mestizia delle parole e dell' animo. Il che senza dubbio gli fu di giovamento: perciocchè a quella improvvisa immagine di miseria in un uomo sì grande non potè fare che non s' intenerisse alquanto l' animo di *Guidobaldo*, e di coloro eziandio che l' odiavano a morte. Entrato dunque nella camera ove il duca sedevasi con più nobili ed onorate persone, dopo fatti i consueti segni di riverenza e d' onore, con voce sommessa proferì alcune parole interrotte, nelle quali pareva che s' ingegnasse non di scolparsi affatto, ma di alleggerire in parte l' offesa. Dall' altra parte il duca, che al suo arrivo s' era levato in piedi, mirandolo con occhio severo, cominciò con voce minacciosa ed alta a dire in questo modo.

“ Se Dio lasciasse, o Cesare, le cose di questo mondo al tutto nelle mani degli uomini, i violenti ed ingiusti depri-

merebbero i mansueti e buoni. Finge egli di dormire, e così pare a noi; ma non dorme. Lascia egli inalzare i superbi ed abbassar gli umili per sollevare poi questi, ed atterrar quelli. Ciò appunto ha egli fatto con voi, che dovendo appagarvi del giusto, vivere da buon sacerdote, e godervi onestamente le dignità, i beni, gli onori, che con tanta larghezza vi avea Dio conceduti, non conoscendo (perchè forse nol meritaste) lo stato vostro, fatto principio dal disprezzo degli abiti, ed ordini sacri, profanaste (nè vi spiaccia il vero) profanaste voi medesimo, e rivolte le spalle alla religione, prodigo dell' onore, dell' anima, della salute vostra, vi deste alle rapine ed ai parricidii, procurando di far voi grande colla ruina di molti. Ma per non ragionare degli altri, ditemi, vi prego, per quella vostra già sì stretta amicizia e fratellanza, sì poco stimata ed apprezzata da voi, ditemi: che vi mosse a levarmi lo stato e ad insidiare al mio sangue? Non avea io sì fedelmente, com' è noto a ciascuno e molto meglio a voi, non avea io servito vostropadre, e perciò preso e adoperato le armi contra nobilissime e potentissime famiglie? Non avea io sostenuto per lui disagi, dispendi, prigione? Non fu sempre la mia casa aperta cortesemente a tutti i vostri, ed a voi? Che cosa ho fatto e non ho fatto per giovarvi e servirvi? Mostravate di conoscere i beneficii, quando mi chiamavate amico e fratello. Ma gli effetti scopersero che ad altro fine vi uscivano di bocca quelle parole. Tuttavia ringrazio e ringrazierò sempre Dio che m' abbia renduto il premio di quelle opere, sì, quel premio che voi mi negaste. Perchè se voi mi cacciaste di casa, egli mi ci ha riposto; se tentaste di abbassarmi, egli mi ha sollevato; se cercaste di levarmi la vita, egli contra tutte le forze e l' insidie vostre me l' ha conservata. E ciò credo affine che imparaste a conoscere la sua provvidenza e rimaneste confuso. Egli è vero che voi non avete ancora versato il vostro sangue, come avete versato quello di molti. Ma non siete ancor morto: e pure è cosa certa che la vendetta di Dio è velocissima, tuttochè paja zoppa, ed impedita de' piedi."

" Stava *Cesare*, mentre *Guidobaldo* diceva queste cose, tutto attonito e sbigottito, pentendosi quasi di essersi volon

tariamente esposto a sì nojoso e pericoloso congresso. Tuttavia com' uomo intrepido, vedendolo tacere, così rispose :

“ S' io negassi d' avervi offeso, negherei 'l vero. Ma se vogliamo spogliarci delle passioni, qual figlio d' uomo trovandosi nel mio stato non avrebbe fatto il medesimo, ed ancor peggio ? Non offendeste voi me, come io voi : perchè nè voi nel mio, nè io mi trovai nello stato vostro. Molti condannano i peccati altrui, che se si fossero abbattuti nelle medesime occasioni li scuserebbero ; o condannandoli, condannerebbero sè medesimi, e non è innocente secondo me chi non potendo, ma chi potendo non pecca. Io mi trovai giovane, d' animo non abjetto, potente per le armi Francesi, più potente per le ecclesiastiche, ricco di danari, di seguito, di equipaggi, d' ajuti, d' amici, e di tutte quelle cose, una sola delle quali può essere scala facile alla grandezza. E perciò come era egli possibile che io me ne ristessi a guisa d' uomo di legno o di fango ? O non si dia a chi ha questi incitamenti e questi mezzi l' animo grande, o a chi l' ha non si diano le occasioni : perciocchè accoppiandosi queste cose e chi starebbe ne' termini ? Io son paruto ad alcuni violento, e terribile, e m' ha bisognato esserlo : perciocchè la grandezza, nella quale io m' era posto, avea armato contro di me la suspizione, e la invidia di molti. Nè sono io stato usurpatore dell' altrui, come si dice ; ma ricuperatore delle cose levate, se non da voi, almeno da tutti gli altri alla Chiesa. I quali acquisti se talora ho cercato di stabilire col sangue, l' ho fatto per assicurare me stesso, insegnandoci il maestro che nasce con esso noi di opprimere per non rimanere oppressi. E so io, e sallo il mondo, che non ho giammai levata la vita ad uomo che non se l' abbia meritato, o non me n' abbia data giustissima cagione. Che io poi non sia tiranno (come dai miei nimici per tutto si va dicendo) io non voglio altro testimonio che le città della Romagna, le quali sotto il mio governo hanno cominciato a conoscere quella tranquillità e quella pace che non avevano neppur sognata, non che goduta per l' addietro. Or siasi come si voglia : ha piaciuto a Dio, i cui giudicii sono occulti, di traboccarmi nel pelago delle miserie nelle quali mi trovo, e non indegno al certo di compassione : la quale troverei

se dovesse venirmi da persone che non mi odiassero, ne si chiamassero offese. La vostra bontà, *Guidobaldo*, fa ch'io spero da voi quello che dispero da tutti. Volete voi soddisfazione? Eccomi pronto a darlavi. Volete, ch'io mi chiami pentito della offesa fattavi? Ecco me ne chiamo. E sarammi una parte di sollevamento la ricuperazione della vostra grazia, ed un guadagno che mi farà meno gravi le perdite il riacquisto della vostra amicizia."

Così parlò Cesare: ed accompagnò l'ultima parte del suo ragionamento con arti e maniere tali, che il Duca, facendo nell'animo suo maggior impressione l'aspetto della presente miseria di quell'uomo, che non vi avea fatto lo sdegno concepito per le passate ingiurie, sentissi tutto intenerire, e perciò mutato volto e parole, gli disse: "Fate buon animo, chè più mi piace il pentimento che io scorgo in voi che non mi dispiacciono gli oltraggi ricevuti, ancorchè così gravi. Io non conservo le inimicizie con chi lascia di essermi nimico, e non odio l'offensore oltre quello che si stende l'offesa. Vi perdono: e piuttosto per seguire il mio costume che per confonder voi, vi prometto da quel che sono in tutte le oneste occasioni che mi si presenteranno così appresso il Pontefice, come a qualsivoglia altra persona, di farvi sempre piacere, e, quanto si stenderanno le mie forze, giovarvi." Alle quali parole il *Valentino*, rasserenato il volto, confessandogli per doppia cagione obbligato, abbracciollo, e baciato gli le mani, prese commiato e partissi. Parve strano, o piuttosto degno di biasimo che di lode quell'atto di *Guidobaldo* a coloro che misurano i fatti de' grandi col compasso del volgo ma all'incontro venne commendato oltre modo e laudato dalle persone d'animo grande e dal Papa.

No. LIV.

(Page 27.)

*Petri Criniti Op. p. 554.**De laude Consalvi Ferrandi in victoria Lyriana contra Gallos.*

O Quis reposti pocula Liberi
Depromit, aut quis nunc mihi victimas
Cum thure sacro rite puer parat,
Insignem ut referam dicm

Quo dux vigenti milite maximus
Lyrim refuso sanguine Galliæ
Vidit tumentem, Gesaque supplici
Porrecta in medium manu?

Heu quanta passim funera nobilem
Lucem sacrarunt, qua tibi maxima
Ferrande laus, et perpetuum decus
Partum est auspiciis tuis.

Tu macte princeps consilio gravi
Frænum receptis viribus injicis:
Gallosque et astu, et viribus occupans
Hostilem superas manum

Victor, et urges; testis adest cruor:
Testisque et omnis Gallia; dum tuum
Mirata forti pectore militem
Hispanum subiit jugum.

Quantus triumphus, quæ statuæ, tibi
Debentur? o si nunc meritas queam
Cantare laudes principis, et pares
Aptare ad numeros chelyn.

Sic est, volenti nil homini arduum,
Quem firma virtus extulit: invium
Nullum relictum est ingeniis iter,
Queis cœlum petere est datum.

Ferrandus armis, et sapientia
Prælatas, ut qui Marte potens acri
Dejecit arces funditus, et sibi
Æternum statuit decus.

Non ante quisquam tam celeri gradu
 Oppressit hostem victor: et impiger
 Munita certis oppida viribus
 Astu perdomuit suo.

No. LV.

(Page 35.)

Ex. Epist. Gregorii Cortesii, Mutinensis, p. 234.

JO. MEDICES CARD.

DETULIT ad me Aloisius Lottus, quem secretis tuis adhibere solitus es, te noctes diesque cogitare, si qua ratione afflictas perditasque res *Casinatis Cœnobii* possis instaurare, ut renovato ibi divino cultu, et Benedicti institutionum observatione, speciem aliquam primevæ majestatis recuperare possit habereque te Julium Pont. Max. et Consalvum Ferandum regis Hispaniæ copiarum ducem, ejus consilii non participes solum, sed arbitros etiam et mirificos adjutores. Digna sane cogitatio animi tui magnitudine, et anteactæ vitæ consentanea; digna patris tui Laurentii atque atavi Cosmæ religione, qui et vetustate collapsa templa plurima pristinæ restituerunt magnificentiæ, et complura a fundamentis incredibili impensa extruxerunt. Tu vero non parietes ipsos, non contignationes, non cæteras partes ædificii sanctas tectasque reddes, sed religionem, sed castitatem morum, sed pietatem pristinam, Benedictum denique ipsum suis ædibus hac ratione restitues. Huc accedit, quod cum multa celebrentur majorum tuorum in re publica atque privata gesta præclarissime, maxime quod illorum favore atque auspiciis extincta dudum liberalia studia revixerunt, debetur quidem tibi nescio quo pacto hæreditatis jure, pars quædam ejus laudis, sed ea ratione ut rei soliditate ipsis majoribus derelicta, umbram solum, et velut auram quampiam tibi inde vendicare possis. Enimvero, si id quod tanta cum indole aggredi cogitas, a te fuerit confectum, tum demum consequeris, ut integram laudem consilio pietati atque ingenio tuo omnes assignandam ducant. Præterea quotquot futuris retro tem-

poribus et pene dixerim, in omni æternitate in augustissimis illis ædibus sacris operabuntur, illi omnes in primis te ipsum familiamque tuam, vel certe secundum Deum, tanti operis autorem confitebuntur, cum sacrificiis, laudibus, continentia, adorationibus, divinum favorem generi humano sagtagent demereri. Movit te ad hoc ut opinor cogitandum, quod sacerdotium id tibi commendatum esse putas, non ut ex ejus annuis fructibus equorum magna multitudo, canes venatici, volucres ad aucupia nutrentur; nec idcirco ut major pompa et numerosiore caterva stipatus ad Pontificias ædes deducerere; non ut uno alterove episcopis esses in equitando comitator: quæ ut Christianæ simplicitati et bonis moribus certum est magnopere repugnare, sic ab animo cogitationibusque tuis longissime abesse debent: sed ut sacerdotum illarum ædes divinis laudibus multiplicatis, die noctuque psallentium vocibus resonarent: ut quæ olim ibi viguerunt, liberalium artium studia reviviscerent, denique ut ex Christiana religione illic omnia administrarentur. Etenim locus ipse, ut nosti, divina quadam providentia electus esse videtur, qui et bonarum artium et omnis eruditionis, ut ita dicam, officina assidue futurus esset. Sic namque ante exhibitam nobis a Christo Opt. Max. admirandam humanitatem M. Varonis Academia est nobilitatus. Sic deinde studiis omnium disciplinarum floruit, ut medicos, philosophos, postremo Thomam Aquinatem illi debeamus, inter eos qui novum hoc Theologiæ genus professi sunt, facile principem. Nam de Benedicto ipso loqui quid attinet, cum nulla ferme regio sit, nulla civitas atque adeo nullum ignobile oppidulum, quod non et illi dicatis ædibus et ejus disciplinæ professoribus sit referatam? Ut mihi videatur acerrimus ille humani generis hostis, jure quodam suo, Casinatæ Cœnobium præ cæteris omnibus odio et malevolentia prosequi, quod ex eo potissimum pene infiniti duces extiterint, qui collatis secum signis sæpius victoriam exportarunt. Quare, pro cujusmodi cogitationes tibi mirum in modum gratulor, hortorque atque obsecro, uti ne diutius cunctando negotium differas. Scio te et quamplurimos et acres adversarios habiturum, partim mentito nomine Christiano, Christianæ religionis hostes acerbissimos,

partim etiam qui iniquissimo animo sunt laturo ejus sacerdotii opulentiam, non amplius ad luxum et delicias, sed ad divini cultus decorem et pauperes nutriendos convertendam esse. Tu vero, certe scio, qua animi magnitudine negotium aggressus es, eadem atque etiam longe majore ad exitum usque proseguere, ut nec pietas in voluntate, nec in proposito constantia, nec consilium in exequendo desiderari possit. Qua de re, tecum pluribus aget Eusebius Mutinensis, ordinis nostri Præsident, qui has nostras, ut opinor, tibi est redditurus. Et cujus fidei quædam a me commendata sunt ad te deferenda, ut gratissimum omnino mihi facturum sis, si de omnibus fidem illi adhibere volueris. Vale.

No. LVI.

(Page 43.)

Dumont, Corps Diplomatique, tom. iv. par. i. p. 89.

Breve Pontificium JULII Papæ II. ad FRANCISCUM GONZAGAM Marchionem Mantuæ emanatum; Quo eum Generalem Locumtenentem sui, et Romanæ Ecclesiæ Exercitus constituit. Datum Imolæ die 25. Octobris Anno 1506.

JULIUS PAPA II.

DILECTE Fili Salutem, et Apostolicam Benedictionem: Egregia tua virtus, ac fides, rei militaris scientia, et anima magnitudo quibus majores tuos belli gloria claros, non solum equiparas, sed exuperas, quarumque dum Inclitæ Reipublicæ Venetæ Capitaneus Generalis esses in prima juvenia maxima documenta etiam cum Potentissimo Rege signis collatis dedisti, et deinde carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Maximiliani Romanorum Regis Illustris, ac Ludovici Sfortiæ tunc Ducis Mediolani, et novissime carissimi etiam in Christo Filii nostri Ludovici Francorum Regis Christianissimi Locumtenens Exercitus ejus in Regnum Neapolitanum duxisti, merito nos inducunt ut tuæ nobilitati præ ceteris Prefecturam Exercitus nostri, ac Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ demandare velimus, spe-

rantes quod tuo ductu, tuaque virtute, et auctoritate, dilectissima civitas nostra Bononiæ tyrannide prout cupimus liberabitur, et reliqua quæ tibi committenda duxerimus, bene, ac fideliter peragentur. Quocirca te Exercitus nostri, et Ecclesiæ antedictæ omniumque gentium armigerarum nobis, et dictæ Ecclesiæ militantium Generalem Locumtenentem nostrum, ad nostrum, et Sedis Apostolicæ beneplacitum, facimus, constituimus, et tenore præsentium deputamus, cum facultate, et potestate exercitum, et gentes ipsas ductandi, quo dignitas, et status noster, ac dictæ Ecclesiæ postulabunt, et a nobis tibi injunctum fuerit, jubendi quoque, et imperandi omnibus Ductoribus Comestabilibus, et Militibus, ceteraque omnia ordinandi, imperandi, et exequendi, quæ alii Generales Exercitus, et Gentium armigerarum Ecclesiæ antedictæ Locumtenentes pro tempore ordinare, jubere, et exequi poterunt. Mandantes proinde Ductoribus Comestabilibus, et Militibus antedictis ut jussionibus, et ordinationibus tuis tanquam nostris plene pareant et obdiant in quantum nostram gratiam promereri, et indignationem evitare desiderant. Tu igitur, Fili dilecte, ita Exercitum gubernare, et te gerere studeas, ut Sancta Romana Ecclesia quo te tanto favore prosequitur, per te non solum sua jura conservata, sed etiam aucta esse sentiat, prout fore non dubitamus, Deo cujus causa agitur, tuos gressus in omnibus dirigente. Datum Imolæ sub Annulo Piscatoris, die xxv. Octobris M. D. VI. Pont. nostri Anno tertio.

SIGISMUNDUS.

No. LVII.

(Page 44.)

Carmina illust. Poet. Ital. vol. v. p. 408.

Hadriani, S. R. E. Card.

ITER JULII II. PONT. MAX.

AUGUSTI memoranda dies vicesima sexta
Pontificem magna Roma dimisit Julum,
Pæne omni patrum, et procerum comitante Senatu.

Formello pius excepit Jordanus, et uxor
Moribus, ingenio, formaque et nomine Felix.
Postera lux Nepete Antiquum, tum proxima Veios
Ostendit, mox per Cimini montemque lacumque
Tendimus insignem per balnea multa Viterbum.
Discordes bonus hic cives pacavit Julius.
Præbuit hinc celebrer mons dulcia vina Faliscus,
Detinuitque diem. Veterem post vidimus urbem
Excelsæ rupi impositam sine mœnibus ullis.
Hic templum genitrici ingens, cui sculpta vetusto
Marmore stat facies, spirantque in marmore vultus.
Carnajola procul, pons hinc sex milia distans,
Cyaneas transmittit aquas, sparsasque paludes
Per sata, per silvas; ah quantum absumitur agri.
Plebis ad indomitæ Castrum pervenimus, inde
Impositæ apparent Perusinis collibus arces,
Castellana lacus Trasimenus mœnia cingit:
Hunc ratibus læti tranavimus. Insula lætos
Accipit hospitio. Pasianum allabimur, unde
Prospicimus campos Romanis ossibus albos;
Servat adhuc nomen locus, et de sanguine fuso,
Sanguineos campos Perusini nomine dicunt,
Hic ubi commisso fallax certamine Pœnus
Flaminiumque ducem, Mavortiaque arma subegit.
Per colles, ripamque lacus, Corclana subimus
Mœnia, oliviferis tumulis lætissima rura.
Vicina placuit patribus recubare sub ulmo.
Hic simul occurrunt equitum peditumque catervæ
Urbinate Duce, illo nec melior fuit alter,
Nec pietate prior, sed nec præstantior armis;
Tot dotes juveni invidit lapidosa podagra.
His circumsepti legionibus, ordine longo
Ingredimur Perusinam urbem, civilibus actam
Eversamque odiis: hanc tu pater optime Juli,
In placida tandem compostam pace relinquis.
Non procul oppidulum est, Fractam cognomine dicunt:
Amnis obit muros cœno, et graveolentibus undis.
Huc ubi delati, montes, Eugubia tecta,

Hærentemque jugis urbem superavimus ; inde
Perpetuos colles Cariani villula findit,
Villula munifico non aspernanda popello.
Hos prætervectis tumulos plebecula callem
Quæ colit angustum (Caglia cognomine dicunt),
Occurrit facie obducta ; nam tabida fertur
Infecisse lues ; celeri pede fugimus omnes.
Hinc ad aquas Lantias perreximus, unde Metaurus
Confusus Gauno Foruli spectacula præbet.
Est operæ pretium versu describere mirum
Naturæ ludentis opus. Stant vertice ad auras
Hinc atque hinc montes prærupti, flumine subter
Secretis labente viis, ut fumus ab imis
Surgat aquis, lateque fluant aspergine cautes.
Rupis ad extremum læve venientis ab urbe
Porrigitur molis dorsum, qua semita nulla,
Nulli aditus quondam, nec erat via pervia cuiquam ;
Cæsar inaccessam patefecit Titus et illam.
Quantum acie possunt oculi servare cavavit,
Inscripsitque fores ; et adhuc vestigia utrumque
Limen habet, scabro et fragili vix cognita topoph.
Sunt soliti hac camera multi latitare latrones,
Exceptosque viatores demergere in amnem.
Repsimus e crypta, atque angusta fauce viritim
In campos Ubalde, tuos ; hinc imus in urbem,
Urbinum dixere patres tua regia tecta.
Ardua quæ saxo colitur Macerata vetusto
Hinc petitur, vicoque brevi succedimus ; inde
Scandimus excelsas nimbose cacumina pinnas,
Dive Marine tuas. Tumidi hic subsidere montes
Incipiunt, superoque mari consternere litus
Planitiem ingentem terris, opibusque superbam
Gallia qua fluvio Rubicone comata patescit.
Italix hic finis quondam : nunc omnia miscet
Effera barbaries, antiquaque nomina vertit.
Savignana vocant pinguissima rura coloni ;
Huc madidi, multoque luto, fessique venimus.
Progressi meliore via, cælo graviore

Cæsenam intramus. Culices avertere somnos
Omnibus, et variis vultus maculare figuris.
Pompilii Livique forum divertere cogunt;
Terra ferax populusque ferox, ac cæde frequenti
Terribilis, semperque furens civilibus armis.
Ut ter quinque dies abierunt, Livia tecta
Linquimus, atque iterum montes jubet ire per altos
Julius, et Castri ad lævam juga visere Cari.
Imus præcipites per mille pericula rerum
Turrigerasque arces, rupes, et inhospita saxa.
Appenninicolæ accurrunt, visoque senatu,
Reptantes genibus per humum nova numina adorant.
Modiliana jacet vasto depressa barathro,
Accola torrenti, truncis salebrisque fragoso.
Hanc terram pedibus celso de monte ruentes
Prendimus, et placido curamus corpora somno.
Postera lux alios scopulos, cœloque propinquas
Nubigenasque Alpes aperit; Marradia vulgus
Saxa vocat, summum excipiunt magalia Julum.
Inde Palatiolum statio opportuna labori
Hospitio lassos refovet, tum fluminis arcta
Provehimur ripa tueri discrimine euntes.
Est locus extremis in montibus asper Etruscis,
Hunc dictum perhibent a tussi Tussinianum:
Huc quoque delati montes devovimus omnes.
Orta dies latos campos, et amœna vireta
Corneliique forum, feliciaque arva reducit.
Hic meus ortus habet sedes Papiensis avitas
Nobilis, et clarum genus alto a sanguine ducit.
Constitit hic pastor, dum prospicit omnia, Julius:
Et belli pacisque simul dum pondera librat,
Consilioque patrum rerum moderatur habenas;
Appulit interea Gallorum exercitus ingens,
Conseruitque manum, et muros circumstetit armis,
Felsina docta tuos. Volat impiger actus ab urbe
Nuntius, et Serram exactam pulsumque tyrannum,
Excussumque jugum patriæ cervicibus affert:
Pontificem implorat fessis succurrere rebus,

Hoc oratores certatim ex urbe frequentes,
Exposcunt, patriæque patrem properare precantur.
Thura adolet Julius templis, sacrisque peractis
Tendit iter, gressum celerans, urbique propinquat.
Urbs antiqua ingens Etruscis regia quondam
Felsina, tum Boiis fato irrumpentibus impar
Accepisse novum fertur Bojonia nomen.
Verum ubi sunt Boi Romano milite pulsī,
Barbariem excussit cœpitque Bononia dici.
Subditur ad Boream radicibus Appennini;
Planitie acclivi, procumbens solis ad ortus,
Inter aquas Sapinæ, et Rheni, quarum utraque in urbem
Ducta vehit, revehitque rates, pistrinaque versat,
Æmilîæ decus, et belli, pacisque patrona,
Dives opum variarum, et nullius indiga cultus,
Musarum domus, atque omnis nutricula juris.
Jamque dies aderat, mediumque vehebat ad axem
Omnia conspiciens Phœbeæ lampadis astrum:
Obsedere patres majoris limina portæ,
Qua modo Felsinea pastor requieverat æde;
Porticibusque amplis expectant numen Iuli.
Tandem de thalamo sella sublimis eburna,
Gestatusque hominum scapulis, longo agmine prodit;
Cui trabea ex auro, gemmis, ostroque coruscat,
Tempora conchili fulgent redimita tiara;
Progreditur procerum legio, tua, Felsina, proles;
Æratæque ruunt acies, clypeataque circum
Agmina funduntur; placidos dat Curia gressus
Æquati spatiis omnes, et vestibus omnes;
Purpureisque Patres tecti capita alta galeris
Obvia quæque oculis perstringunt numinis instar:
Visendi studio effusi juvenesque senesque,
Et matres, puerique simul tecta omnia complent:
Culminibusque astant, portisque et turribus hærent.
Ut vero ad divi venit penetralia Petri
Julius, aspersitque patres in limine primo
Rore levi, geminis manibus veneratus ad aras
Effigies sacras, Grates quas possumus, inquit,

Accipe, Christe Deus, nam quæ sat digna queamus
 Munera, quas laudes humana voce referre?
 Tu nos incolumes per tot discrimina vectos
 Urbe hac Felsinea sine cæde, et sanguine donas.
 Da pater omnipotens, rerumque æterna potestas
 Sic superos penetrare aditus, verosque triumphos
 Terreno involucro exutos, vitiisque subactis.
 Hæc ubi supplicibus votis oravit Iulus,
 Quisque domum properat, factoque hic fine quiescit.

No. LVIII.

(Page 59.)

Joannis Cottæ.

DE VICTORIA LIVIANI.

O QUÆ alma grato carmine fortium
 Mori, Thalia, facta vetas virum.
 Nunc et per ora LIVIANUM
 Omnium, et omne feras per ævum,
 Dic, ut superbæ contuderit minas
 Germaniæ, atque a Cæsare barbaro
 Fessæ tot annos imminentem
 Ausoniæ arcuerit ruinam.
 Nam quis malorum cheu veterum memor
 Non expavebat? quum populos truces
 In nos remotis usque ab oris,
 Qua glacie riget Amphitrite,
 Audiret armari; aspera que Alpium
 Jam vincere altis cum nivibus juga
 Feris inaccessa, atque fines
 Undique jam populare nostros?
 At LIVIANUS in trepidis decens
 Audere rebus, qua violentior
 Vis hostium ingruit, citatis
 Obvius agminibus cucurrit.

Ductore tandem hoc scilicet Italas
Videre montes insoliti manus :
Tormenta, atque equos, et arma
Alpicolæ stupere Fauni.
Tandemque nostra impune nimis diu
Bacchati in arva Theutones horridi
Sensere in antiquamque robur,
Inque novum Marium incidisse ;
Quum cæsa, pubis flos Alemanicæ,
Repente in alta valle Cadubrii
Phalanx nives cruore tinxit
Purpureo, rapidumque Plavem,
Arx et recepta est ; pectora militum
Quum sæva nostrorum ardua non via,
Non saxa, non arcere muris
Terrifici potuere nimbi,
Cadentē athena fulminis in modum
Contorta ab igni sulphureo pila,
Qua terra subsultat, nigerque
Cum sonitu ferit astra fumus ;
Dirum repertum ; et ingenium male
Sagax, sacrumque, quo truculentius
Nil invenire atrox Megæra,
Sæva nec ira potest Deorum.
Sed cuncta præsens horrida temnere
Dux acer urget, hunc sequitur cohors
Secura ; præsentemque mortem
Magnanimo Duce freta vincit.
Diis cura nostri est, et Venetus pater
Probe Latinæ consuluit rei,
Quum jus tibi omne copiarum,
LIVIANE, tribuit suarum ;
CORNELIUMQUE mox socium dedit
Magno e Senatu, cui sapientia
Insignis, ac fortis avorum
Scipiadum reparant honores.
Non Imperatorem ille queat sibi
Optare, Mavors quem magis diligit :

Non tu Senatorem ferendis
 Consiliis animosiores.
 Vos nuper hostium unanimes feram
 Fregistis audaciam, ac pavidos patres
 Firmastis, ac suam attulistis
 Semianimis populis quietem.
 Vos jam timebit barbarus, ac suis
 Pedem cavebit tollere finibus,
 Ni læva mens est, Diique nostros
 Accumulare volunt triumphos.

No. LIX.

(Page 66.)

Jo. Pierii Valeriani.

AD M. ANT. SABELLICUM PRÆCEPTOREM.

*De Portentis anteaquam totus terrarum orbis in Venetos
 conspiraret.*

EST aliquis mens ipsa Deus, de semine Cœli,
 De superis porro sedibus illa venit.
 Usque adeo eventi semper præsaga futuri,
 Quod nusquam est, multo prævidet ante malum.
 Quin etiam totus, quo circumfundimur, ær
 Ætheriis passim præditus est animis,
 Qui tacito semper videantur in aure susurro
 Instillare homini consilia alta Deum.
 Illicet et cum membra thoro sopita quiescunt,
 Libera mens cœlum scandit, aditque Jovem;
 Atque hunc, atque illum e Superis per longa salutat
 Atria, et illa videt, quæ latuere pius.
 Quid sit cumque satis manifestum est, contremere omnem
 Euganeam, horrendis casibus attonitam.
 Corda hominum passim nam consternata videmus
 Olim venturis nunc trepidare malis,

Terrifica insani quæ pangunt carmina Vates,
 Carmina de exitio Cromnia terra tuo.
 Imminet heu quantus Venetis labor! otia cedant,
 Non mare, non Tellus tuta erit ulla diu.
 Cedite jam ingenui, ac alio properate labores.
 Artibus hac summis nullus in urbe locus.
 Namque canunt, hoc Dii facinus prohibete, futurum
 Cedat ut hoc subito pulsa Minerva solo.
 Aptæ manus calamis enses tolerabit, et hastas;
 Aptæ levi chartæ scuta onerosa feret.
 Heu decus, heu specimen Phœbi Phaëtontia tellus,
 Seu vis Euganeum, seu Venetum esse genus.
 Venisti ad culmen studiorum, et nominis, heu heu
 Destinatus in clades sic sua quemque dies.
 Qui tibi perpetuo conjuncti fœdere Reges
 Fœdabunt læsa jusque piumque fide.
 Heu quot amicorum spoliis potentur iniqui,
 Tincta quot in socio sanguine tela gerent.
 Jurabunt omnes, terrarum quidquid in orbe est,
 Omne tuum ut perdant terra beata decus
 Qua mare, qua montes, quaque Addua, fonsque Timavi
 Terra novem magnis inclita fluminibus;
 Per quorum ora vagus passim premit arva superbus
 Hadria, amara ut aquis dulcibus ora riget,
 Stagna cruoris erunt, et flumina sanguinis ibunt,
 Præda erit omne solum, flamma, favilla, cinis.
 Extemplo ille quidem terra pelletur ab omni;
 Et mediis dura sorte latebit aquis,
 Sæpe animo, et solitis collectis viribus altum
 Surget, et in latos stagna refundet agros.
 Hæc tam dira canunt Vates, majora minantur
 Terrificis passim monstra nefanda modis,
 Motu Creta ruit terræ, non una crematur
 Insula in Hadriacis, non regio una Vadis.
 Emporium terrarum orbis, Germanaque tecta
 Tantum opus in cineres flamma proterva dedit;
 Mox Navale tot annorum orbis, ac opus, heu heu
 Quam subito in mediis funditus arsit aquis!

An referam tristes nocturno tempore voces ;
Numina vel medio sæpe locuta die ?
Visa Dei Mater (testis pro littore templum est)
Lugubri Gnatum peplo operire suum,
Ejectoque sedens trunco clamare per undas,
Terra fleas, hoc ter dicere, Terra fleas.
Ille quidem Truncus toti venerabilis orbi
Visitur, et sancta est relligione sacer.
Unde autem exultas risu, gliscisque cachinnis
Italia, O populis sæva Noverca tuis ?
Sic arguta plagis Philomele cantat in arctis,
Sic duro vinctus Navita navigio.
In tua convertis sceleratum viscera ferrum,
Et misera in proprio læta dolore furis.
Quin Venetos optas salvos, ut ab igne redemptis
Reliquiis, horum libera tecta petas ?
Interea venerande Senex nos instrue Musis,
Dum licet, et Venetum pax fovet alma solum ;
Dum trahis eduras suavi Testudine quercus,
Et liquido lapsas aëre sistis aves.
Dum Venetum historias, primaque ab origine mundi
Ad tua conscribis tempora res hominum.
Te sequimur, tibi docta cohors se dedicat uni ;
Ut nunc quisque animis ingenioque valet.
Seu tibi in Hadriacis libeat considerare tectis ;
Sive Aponus cordi, seu Medoacus erit.
Culta vel illectent tot amœnis collibus arva,
Sive Arquata placent, seu Theolana magis.
Dum datur esse hilares, neque adhuc crudelis Enyo
In promptu bellum, quod meditatur, habet
Ne timor ante tubam consternat pectora inanis.
Vivamus. Musæ gaudia mentis amant.

No. LX.

(Page 81.)

*Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. viii. p. 59.**Ant. Francisci Rainerii.*

DE NICOLAO URSINO PETILIANO.

URSINI venerare ducis picta ora, manusque,
 Eridanum quicumque bibis, Tiberimve Athesimve,
 Tyrrheno quicumque mari, Hadriacove potenti
 Adlueris; celsi aut juga suspicis Apennini.
 Ille etenim Ausonios cum se effudisset in agros
 Horrida tempestas, totamque involvier armis
 Cerneret Italiam, et trepidantes pectore Patres
 Italiae Venetos decus, et cum maximus hostis
 Fulminibus claram Patavi contunderet urbem
 Exitium in magnum; stetit imperterritus ille
 Huc illuc aciem volvens, urbemque pererrans:
 Romulidum prisca fractus qua barbarus arte
 Vique animi invicta, Ausoniis excessit ab oris.
 Salve o bellipotens, tot qui unus millia contra
 Sublapsam nobis vigilando restituis rem,
 Qui fera Gallorum et Germanæ robora pubis,
 Innumeras acies qui comprimis Hispanorum,
 Et conjuratos Itala in præcordia reges.

No. LXI.

(Page 93.)

*Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. v. p. 434.**Pauli Jovii.*

IN ALIDOSIUM CARD. PAPIENSEM.

IMPROBIOR Caco, Lernæque immaniꝛ Hydra,
 Geryone asperior,
 Ille est, Ausoniæ non enarrabilis aulæ
 Pestis et opprobrium
 Jam tum vulgatum cunctis Alidosius oris ;
 Quem tamen impavidus
 Sustulit Herculeo confossum Feltrius ictu,
 Scilicet ut merito
 Sublatus terris Stygias inviseret umbras
 Tergeminumque canem,
 Perpetuas illic pœnas, et sæva daturus
 Supplicia, heu miserum !
 Te pudor et pietas, et religionis honores
 Deseruere simul ;
 Pro quibus invidiam et rabiem exercere solebas,
 Imperium patriæ
 Affectans, tumidi dum te victoria Galli
 Erigit, atque putas
 Illius auspiciis cuncta exoptata referre :
 Sed vetuere Dei.
 At vos jamdudum cæso gaudete Tyranno,
 Patriciorum animæ,
 Et tu cum placido lætare, Bononia, Rheno ;
 Nam quis erit scelerum
 Tantorum inventor, qui tristes improbus iras
 Effugiat Superum ?

No. LXII.

(Page 96.)

*Exemplar in Bibliotheca Vaticana conservatum.**Oratio Maximi Corvini Parthenopei Episcopi Esernien.
Sanctissimo Julio Secundo, Pontifici Maximo dicta.*

AD Rev. in Christo patrem et dominum, Dominum Joannem Sanctæ Mariæ in Dominica Diaconum Cardinalem de Medicis. S. R. E, Bononiæ Flaminiaque Legatum dignissimum Maximi Corvini Episcop. Esernien. Epistola.

Oratio sanctissimæ Fœderis, quam in templo divæ Mariæ, quæ Romano populo præest, tertio nonas Octobris egi, tuo auspicio exeat. Quippe cum trium horarum foetura sit quando trium dierum duntaxat ad agendum mihi spatium datum fuerat, eam domi retinere institueram. Sed plerique mei amantissimi cum omni officio efflagitassent, repugnare non potui. Quæ si forsan in livoris ignavi morsus incideret, tua auctoritate, tua disciplina, et brevissimi temporis foetura defensa, dentes non formidabit. Vale.

Oratio.

Cum in omni oratione, quæ inter sacra et ceremonias, Beatissime Pater, dici consuevit, dicendi initium Deo Opt. Max. magnæque Genitrici semper Virgini, cœli Reginæ, gravissimorum Oratorum officium rite dicaverit, ea duntaxat ratione, quod nemo mortalium (nisi divino numine adjutus, fuerit) quicquam de se promittere posset, hodierna die meæ orationis, ne dicam initium, sed cæteræ partes: immo ipsa etiam memoria et actio a me consecrari debent. Quis enim in tantæ rerum silva subito profari queat? Quis de tanta celebritate absque divini luminis auxilio, quod spiritum sapientiæ et intellectus oranti subministrare solet, breviter dilucide et ornate dicere possit? maxime coram te summo totius orbis terrarum Patre Beatissimo: cujus sapientia cœlo con-

nata est : onus quippe atque provincia meis viribus impar. Sed me tua sancta jussa, tua divina oracula (quæ servare religiosum, detractare nefas est,) ad dicendum quocumque possem orationis curriculo impulerunt.

Dicendum est igitur de Sanctissimo Fœdere ; quod tandem divino numine a tua sapientia perfectum atque a tua sanctissima Majestate cum Ferdinando Catholico Rege potentissimo, de hac Apostolica sede semper bene merito, et inclita Venetorum republica ; Kal. Octob. in sacro Senatu tot amplissimorum Patrum sancte sancitum fuit. Quod quidem opto, ac prepotentem Deum suppliciter precor, ut in primis Sanctitati tuæ et huic Apostolico Imperio, inde Ferdinando Catholico Regi, Venetorum Reipub. ac fideli et Christiano populo faustum fortunatum felixque sit. Quo igitur divinitus sancito, cum Sanctitas tua in hoc gloriosissimo die, more majorum, supplicationes Deo Opt. Max. ac Divæ Genitrici, quæ huic templo præest, rite et sancte decernendas duxisset : sacro mihi jussit oraculo, ut meo ore propalam mortalibus fieret.[™]

Cujus quidem Sanctissimi Fœderis multæ magnæque sunt rationes ; nam cum tu Pater beatissime, qui divini nominis observator, Christianæ religionis cultor, ac hujus sacrosanctæ Sedis vindex maximus semper extitisti, superiore anno populos Ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis superbissima Tyrannide, et amaro servitio, quibus per tot annos premebantur, liberare instituisses, plerique Tyranni, multique seditiosissimi mortales, tam profani quam sacri, ne quicquam ordinis (qui devia caliginosa et perdita feruntur via) omnes tuos conatus conjuratis etiam inter se animis et viribus, retardarunt. Unde cum maxima detrimenta huic sacrosancto apostolico Imperio intulissent, et adhuc damnata in Heresi pertinaces hærrere videantur ; hoc sanctissimum Fœdus (in quo alii potentissimi Principes hactenus nominabuntur) inter Sanctitatem tuam, Ferdinandum catholicum Regem, et Rempub. Venetorum solemniter ictum est.

Primo pro salute, presidio, statu, atque libertate tam Sanctitatis tuæ quam hujus Apostolici Imperii, ne quid detrimenti amplius patiat. Inde ut jura, munia, oppida,

Civitates et loca Ecclesiasticæ jurisdictionis, quæ huic sacro Imperio, immo Jesu Christo, humani generis redemptori, hostes nimis superbe et avare non sine dolo malo eripuerunt, recuperentur. Postremo ut Tyrannorum atque seditiosissimorum animi, qui furore agitantur, atque ab una sancta catholica et apostolica Ecclesia dissidere videntur, aliquando ad sanitatem redeant: ne superbissimi Luciferi ritu, aut Gigantum more, adversus præpotentem Deum amplius impies conatus moliantur; sed penitentia ducti, tranquilla in pace resideant. Pro cujus quidem sanctissimi Fœderis vel defensione vel presidio pugnare summa virtus, mortem oppetere gloria et vita est sempiterna. Et vero laudentur diuturna memoria Lacedemonii, qui pugnantes adversus vim et injuriam Persarum, adverso pectore vulnera acceperunt. Ornantur eximia laude Romani; quod pro patriæ charitate, contra perduellem Antonium fortiter occubuerunt. Anteferentur quidem omnibus, qui pro Apostolico Imperio, pro hoc sanctissimo Fœdere servando, atque pro illa perniciosissima heresi, et portentissima seditionis bellua extinguenda constantissima fide pugnabunt: quibus non monumenta, non honores, non merita, non laudes sempiternæ, non supplicationes deerunt; quos ego, cum fortissimos et victores fore existimem, non minorem gloriam fortiter occumbendo, quam naviter vivendo, consecuturos judico: quando fortissimus quisque pro Jesu Christo, pro ejus Vicario, pro catholica Ecclesia, et pro Christianæ reipublicæ salute pugnare debet: de quibus in hoc sanctissimo fœdere magnis conatibus agitur. Verum enim vero quis de hujus sanctissimi fœderis victoria atque felicitate dubitare potest? cum hoc divino consilio inceptum, sapienter consultum, caste juratum sit; et hodierna die inter sacra et ceremonias sancte celebretur. Quin etiam cum tuam, Beatissime Pater, castam et integerrimam mentem considero, quæ divini ignis amore percita, quæ erga Christianum populum magno charitatis ardore incensa, cum pro Apostolico imperio semper spirituale martyrium subiisset toties tot periculis et laboribus ultro se se exposuisset, nulla unquam ægritudine, nullo incommodo, neque fortuna retardatus es, et cui cum hoc ipsum Tyrannidis ac seditionis no-

men pro ecclesiastica libertate, pro Christianæ reipub. pace semper invisum fuerit; omnia quæcunque futura sunt, divino numine, divina justitia, et tua divina potentia atque virtute (quam superis simillimam judico) gloriosa et serena fore decerno. Cum gesta Ferdinandi catholici Regis tota mente repeto, jam tanti principis summa et heroica virtus, quæ semper Apostolicum Imperium fortiter tuendum duxit; quæ semper contra hostes Christiani nominis acerrime pugnavit, unde tot urbes, tot populos, tot provincias, tot regna Christiano Imperio subjecit, adeo ante ceteros Reges (ut pace omnium dixerim) immortalem gloriam sibi comparavit, ut certam nobis victoriam promittat. Quid de constantissima Venetorum Republica dicam? quæ tum per tot annos, tum terra, tum mari, Turcarum impetus ab Italiæ vastitate prohibuisset: superiore anno auxiliares copias misisset: hoc etiam tempore omnes suos conatus pro hujus sanctissimi Fœderis præsidio non est intermissura.

Ceterum, cum Tyrannorum atque seditiosissimorum hominum, qui huic Apostolico Imperio impie infensi sunt, naturam, mores, et facta commemoro, cum eorum animos, qui in consilio impiorum versantur, et in cathedra pestilentiae sedere admittuntur, in mentem duco; cum tot monstra, tot prodigia, et tot portenta, quæ in eorum capita ferri visa sunt, perquiro: quæ etiam Moses et summi Sacerdotes in vetustissimis monumentis non aspernati sunt. Jam jam illos conscientia delictorum agitados, jam tot monstris perterritos, jam incertos, dejectos, vanos, devios, et inter se dissidentes fluctuare vehementer intueor: denique cum prepotentem Deum, qui hanc sacratissimam sedem sibi elegit in terris, atque eandem per te Sanctissimum Patrem, suum legitimum Vicarium regere voluit, mentis et animi luminibus suspicio; illum ipsum sublimi in majestate, altera manu Sanctitatem tuam, et hoc sacrosanctum Imperium protegentem, altera ignita tela contra seditiosissimos hostes vibrantem video; quapropter nihil verendum, nil dubitandum, quin hoc sanctissimum Fœdus, quod justis et magnis rationibus inchoatum, summa pietate et sapientia consultum, sociorum fide et virtute juratum, tua Sanctitate sancitum, et divino numine

atque auspicio celebratum : faustum, fortunatum, felixque futurum sit.

In fine Orationis meæ vos Presides custodesque hujus sacri Imperii magnos Apostolos, teque in primis Deum optimum maximum, teque etiam cœli Reginam oro imploro atque obtestor, ut Sanctissimum patrem Julium II. Pontificem Maximum, Ferdinandum Regem catholicum, Rempublicam Venetorum ac ceteros fortissimos Principes pro Ecclesiastica libertate, atque perniciosissima seditionis peste extinguenda, in hoc sanctissimum Fœdus euntes, incolumes, victores, felicesque diutissime servetis. Dixi.

Cursii Panegyris de Fœdere inter Julium II. Pont. Max. et Hispan. Regem. Sixtus, Almæ urbis Prior, Petro Cursio, Præceptoris suo, S. P. D.

ACCIPE, mi Cursi, Panegyrim, seu mavis Sylvam, a te subito calore editam. Cui enim quam tibi, dicari tua melius poterant? ut quod te invito et inscio ederemus, sub tuo nomine ederetur. Siquidem hanc (ut nosti) quod Tertio postquam effuderis die coram Julio Pon. Max. Kal. Novembris recitaturus eras, mihi legendam, et Galeatio Boschetto magno judicio et litteris predito emendandam commiseras, verum (ut sæpe accidit) ovem lupo commisisti; quam enim mihi tamen legendam, et Boschetto (ut dixi) nostro emendandam dederas, de consilii sententia imprimendam curavimus. Non quod eam vel solo nutu probaveris, sed ut tua tu epigrammata, elegias, eclogas, quas palam secreto nobis recitasses, aliquando in vulgus dares. Nam etsi scimus quam tibi non placeas: scimus etiam quam de te opinionem concitaveris. Ignosce igitur, si quid inscio et invito amico, in amicum, amicitiae causa, deliquerimus. Tibique tandem persuade, cum hæc extemporalia digna ut publicum acciperent judicaverimus, impendio magis, ea placitura, quæ in multos annos presseris. Vale. Ex ædibus nostri prioratus, pridie Kal. Novembr. M.D.XI.

Cursii Panegyris de nono Anno Pont. Julii et novo Fædere.

FESTA dies noni qui nunc novus inchoat anni
Juléo renovat fastos ; hinc clarius orbem
Illustrant solis radii : jactantior hinc est
Auspiciis Roma alta novis : hinc aurea pubes
Purpureique patres : et plebs non sordida cultu,
Principis accumulans lucem. Non flamina perflant,
Sed variis avium cœtus consentibus auras
Mulcent, et fluvio gestit Tyberinus ameno.
Ditior hinc solito templis nitor : altior aris
Flamma micat ; plenaque deis sparguntur acernæ,
Quos calices, divesque tulit panchaia odores.
Sic primos decet ire dies ; sic secla renasci
Julia, qui celsi referas palatia cœli.
Omnia qui referas ad sacra, et publica vota :
Fama ingens, melior factis, et numine numen.
Æmula sideribus quisquis tua templa tuetur,
Non opus esse hominum, sed cœli mœnia credit.
Ergo alacres animis juvenes optate Secundo
Æternosque dies, æternaque gaudia vitæ.
Nam (si vera negent non ipsi facta Tyranni,
Qui non horruerunt veluti Titania proles,
Templa Deum spoliare suis custodibus, aras
Ferro, igne, eruere, et crudeli spargere cæde,
Infantes ante ora patrum mactare, puellas
In matrum gremiis populo spectante piare)
Qui metus orbis erat ? quæ tristia murmura ? quæ tum
Mens hominum ? cum te rapuit pene improba febris ?
Nonne mori est omnis Juli cum funere mundus
Creditus ? atque omnis cura est dimissa salutis ?
Scilicet his hominum clausissent luctibus aures
Numina sprevissetque virum pia vota, precesque ?
Ut populator opum, divum contemptor, Juli
Immemor, offensis superis frueretur, et orbis
Quem lacerat, tandem prædo potiretur habenis.
Non ita : namque hominum justas timuere querelas

Cœlicolæ quis enim coluisset numina, Jule,
 Si percas ? per quem pereant nec sacra, nec urbes,
 Non tibi sed superis qui quæras regna, et honores.
 Ergo erat in fatis, ut post tua fata resurgens
 Talia non sineres audere impune Tyrannos,
 Turbatamque ratem fida in statione locares.
 Te populis, populosque tibi servare liceret,
 Ulciscique deos, juncto tibi fœdere Hiberno
 Principe, quo melior bello non extitit unquam,
 Non erit, aut nunc est, qui tot non cognita regna,
 Tot populos nunquam auditos, sine lege vagantes
 Ad Christi revocat cultus, melioraque fata ;
 Quasque acies, turmas, classes, in viscera Mauri
 Legerat, has geminis mittit ductoribus ; alter
 Is Raimundus erit, quo Bellatore cruentus
 Hannibal Italiam nunquam tetigisset ; et alter
 Omina felici felicia nomine portans
 Terminus, Imperium et famam quæ terminet astris
 Jule tibi, populis securo in pace locatis.
 Militat auspiciis Regis Raimundus, Juli
 Terminus, auspiciis divum pugnabit uterque.
 Auspiciisque tuis, certa est victoria, certus
 Bellorum eventus, quæ Petro atque auspice Rege,
 Juli, bella geres, pro libertate labanti
 Italiæ, spretisque focis, templisque Deorum.
 Anne Deum, Julique hostes non sternat Hiberus ?
 Qui Reges et Marte suos prostraverit hostes
 Ter, quater, et decies felix, deciesque Beate
 Termine, qui turmis Petri, turmisque Secundi
 Preficeris : poterunt unquam quæ premia reddi
 Digna tibi ? statuque tibi quæ digna trophea ?
 Nunquam omnes poterunt terræ tibi digna referre
 Premia : decernet polus ipse trophea, triumphos.
 Nec trahet albus equus currum : nec flectet habenas
 Vir tibi, cœlesti in cœlum vectabere curru,
 Certatim superum turba comitante triumphum
 Fama jugum, virtusque trahent, moderante Minerva.

No. LXIII.

(Page 96.)

Exemp. in Bib. Vaticana.

Lo numero e la quantità de la armata, cioè de li homini d'Arme, de le Galée, et de li Pedoni, chi verranno in ajuto de la S. Lega nova.

SE fa noto et manifesto ad ogni persone, come el summo in Christo padre, Julio, per la divina providentia Papa II. per la recuperatione de la Città de Bologna immediate pertinente a la sancta Romana chiesa, suo Conta et distrecto; ac etiam de tutte altre Città, Rocche et Castelle dequalunche persona siano detenute, mediate o immediate pertinente ad sua Beatitudine, et sancta Chiesa, et defensione de la persona sua, et conservatione, de la auctorita dignita et liberta ecclesiastica, et unione de la sancta Chiesa Romana, et per obviare ad ogni Scisma, havere facto sanctissima lega et confederatione stabilita et solemnamente firmata con el Serenissimo Ferdinando de Aragonia, et de l'una et l'altra Sicilia Re catholico, e Governatore et Administratore deli Regni de Castella et de Leon, devotissimo figliolo de la sancta Chiesa, et Illustrissimo Duce et la Signoria de Venetia, per subsidio de la quale recuperatione et conservatione de la liberta et stato Ecclesiastico, contra ogniuno si voglia opponere a dicta Sanctissima lega et confederatione el prefato Re Catholico ad fede effecto manda lo Illustrissimo Don Remondo de Cardona Vicere de Napoli per Capitano generale de tutta la lega et confederatione con M.CC. homini d'arme in bianco, et M. gianeti, ben in ordine de cavalli et arme, et X. millia fanti Spagnoli recipienti et artigliaria bene in ordine, et ad tale expeditione necessaria, et per mare XI. Galee. Et sua Sanctita da in subsidio de dicta lega CCCCC. homini l'arme in bianco, sotto el governo et conducto de lo Illustrissimo Duca de

Termine. Et el prefato Duce et Signoria de Venetia ogni loro exercito et forza de homini d' arme come cavalli legieri, et fanteria, et oportuna artigliaria, et per mare ogni sforzo loro di Galée overo quello sara bisogno, conjuncte con le sopradicte Galee del Catholico Re, possano non solamente resistere ali inimici, sed offendere a chi presumerà ad dicta Sanctissima lega opponerse, come più expresso è a pieno ne i Capitoli sopra de dicta lega et confederatione particolarmente stipulati et confirmati, con debite promissione et juramenti. De le qual cose et Sanctissima lega è informatissimo el Serenissimo Re de Inghelterra. L'animo del quale circa ciò et volunta assai e certa et declarata ad sua Sanctità, et altri confederate: reservato honestissimo loco ad ogni altro Re e Principe Christiano, quale vora ad effecto predicto intrarne dicta confederatione et Sanctissima lega, facta al nome del onnipotente Dio et sua gloriosissima madre et vergine Maria, et gloriosi Apostoli Sancti Pietro et Paulo, Principi e defensori de Sancta Romana Chiesa, et de tutta la Corte celestiale, conservatione et incremento del stato de sua et Sanctità, et liberta ecclesiastica. Et viva Sancta Chiesa et Julio II.

No. LXIV.

(Page 98.)

Bandini, Collec. Vet. aliquot Monimentorum. Areti, 1752.

LUDOVICI AREOSTI.

*Reverendissimo in Christo patri et Domino D. meo col. D.
Cardinali de Medicis Bononiæ Legato dignissimo.*

*Ut a tribus incompatibilibus, ut inquit auctor, solvatur,
enixe rogat.*

REVERENDISSIME Domine D. mi Colendissime. La servitù, et observantia mia, che da molti giorni in quà ho sempre avuta verso Vostra Signoria Reverendissima, e l' amore, e benignità, che quella mi ha dimostrata sempre, mi danno

ardire, che senza adoperare altri mezzi, io ricorra ad essa con speranza di ottenerne ogni grazia; e quando intesi a di passati, che Vostra Signoria Reverendissima aveva avuta la Legazion di Bologna, ne ebbi quell' allegrezza, che avrei avuta, se 'l Patron mio *Cardinale da Este*, fusse stato fatto Legato; sì perchè de ogni utile, e d' ogni onore de Vostra Signoria, sono di continuo tanto desideroso, e avido, quanto un vero, et affectionato Servitore, deve esser de ogni exaltazione del Patron suo, sì anche perchè mi parvè, che in ogni mia accurrenzia io fusse per avere quella tanto propicia, e favorevole, quanto è debitore un grato Patrone ad un suo deditissimo Servo.

Supplico dunque Vostra Signoria Reverendissima de volermi per Bolla dispensare *ad tria incompatibilia*, et a quel più, che ha autorità di fare, o che è in uso, et a più dignitate insieme, con quelle ample clausule, che si ponno fare, *et de non promovendo ad Sacros ordines* per quel tempo, che più si può concedere. Io son ben certo, che in Casa di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima è chi saprà far la Bolla molto più ampla, che non so dimandare io.

L'Arciprete di Santa Agatha presente exhibitore, il quale ho in loco di Patre, et amo per li suoi meriti molto, venirà a Vostra Signoria per questo effecto. Esso torrà la cura di far fare la supplicatione di quello, che io dimando. Supplico Vostra Signoria Reverendissima a farlo expedir *gratis*, la qual mi perdoni, se io le parlo troppo arrogante, che l' affectione, e servitù mio verso quella, e la memoria, che ho delle offerte fattemi, da essa molte volte, mi darebbono ardire di domandarle molto maggior cose di queste (ancorchè queste a me paranno grandissime) e certitudine d'ottenerle da Vostra Signoria. Se ricordi, che deditissimo Servo le sono, alla quale umilmente mi raccomando.

Ferrariæ xxv. Novembris MDXI.

D. V. Reverendissima.

Deditissimus, et Humilis Servus.

LUDOVICUS ARIOSTUS FERRARIENSIS.

No. LXV.

(Page 124.)

*Hist. Concil. Lateran. Ed. Romæ, 1521.**In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.*

ANNO a nativitate ejusdem 1512; indictione decimaquinta, die vero Lunæ tertia mensis Maii, qui fuit dies inventionis sanctæ crucis, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri, domini Julii divina providentia Papæ II. anno nono, præfatus Sanctissimus Dominus noster Papa, qui alias indixerat Concilium Generale in aliena Urbe, in ecclesia Lateranensi, die Lunæ decimanona mensis Aprilis præteriti inchoandum et celebrandum, et deinde propter certum conflictum habitum apud Ravennam civitatem Romandiolæ inter milites Sux Sanctitatis et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ et Regis Catholici ex una, et exercitum Ludovici regis Francorum et prætenso scismaticos, adhærentes conciliabulo Pisano, seu conventiculæ Satanae, ex alia parte; in quo conflictu fuerunt interfecta multa hominum millia, et inter cæteros Dominus de Fusso magnus magister capitaneus regis Franciæ, et plures alii diversi duces et barones et procures Gallorum et Hispanorum, et capti reverendissimus dominus Joannes Cardinalis de Medicis apostolicæ sedis legatus, et Fabricius Columna, et alii plures, et dicta civitas ecclesiæ miserabiliter a Gallis direpta; inchoationem hujusmodi usque ad Kalendas Maii ejusdem anni prorogavit, et demum ex eadem causa ad supradictum diem Lunæ tertium supradicti mensis Maii iterum prorogavit, prout in literis apostolicis, quarum tenores infra acta primæ sessionis inseruntur, plenius continetur.

Volens idem sanctissimus dominus noster, dominus Julius II. pontifex maximus inchoare dictum concilium generale ex pluribus et variis, gravissimis et urgentissimis causis, statum universalis ecclesiæ et apostolicæ sedis, ac perniciosissimi schismatis extinctionem concernentibus, ut in literis indictionis Concilii latius continetur, indictum, eum die præ-

cedenti ex palatio apostolico lectica vectus ob sui corporis indispositionem in pontificali apparatu et comitiva omnium reverendissimorum dominorum cardinalium, patriarcharum, primatum, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, protonotariorum, abbatum, et universa curia et custodia militum Rhodianorum cruce signatorum, et consuetis ceremoniis, ut moris est, in dictæ basilicæ Lateranensis ædibus divertisset et hospitatus esset et pernoctasset, constitutus dicta tertia die de mane in præfata basilica Lateranensi, celebrata prius in majori altari missa per reverendissimum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Raphaelem episcopum Ostiensem, Cardinalem sancti Georgii vulgariter nuncupatum, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ Camerarium, et collegii sacri cardinalem decanum, ac facto sermone Latino per reverendum patrem et magistrum fratrem Egidium de Viterbio, sacræ theologiæ professorem, ac ordinis Heremitarum sancti Augustini priorem generalem, ac verbi Dei prædicatorem celeberrimum, cujus tenor in fine præsentis actus et solennitatis initii sacri Lateranensis concilii ponetur. Facta etiam prius processione per eundem sanctissimum dominum nostrum, reverendissimos cardinales, patriarchas, archiepiscopos et episcopos ac abbates, nec non alios viros, qui de jure seu consuetudine ad concilium generale venire consueverunt, intraverunt ornati pivialibus, planetis, et dalmaticis juxta ordinis qualitatem, et mitris, locum in medio prædictæ Lateranensis ecclesiæ pro celebratione concilii hujusmodi paratum, cum suis subselliis, tabulatis, clausuris, altaribus, pontificali cathedra, ornamentis et ordinibus, quæ in hujusmodi sacrorum conciliorum celebrationibus servari et fieri consuevisse reperiuntur. In quo cantatis litanis et aliis devotis orationibus, et hymno, *Veni creator Spiritus, &c.* de more in principio celebrationis conciliorum a sanctis patribus et sancta Romana ecclesia legi et decantari solitis et consuetis, capella cantorum incipiente, *Salvum me fac Deus quoniam intraverunt aquæ usque ad animam meam, &c.* et invocata Spiritus sancti gratia, ac exhibita per omnes cardinales et prælatos præfatos sanctissimo domino nostro obedientia et reverentia consueta in paramentis ordinate et convenienter, cantatoque evange-

lio per reverendissimum in Christo patrem dominum Ludovicum sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin diaconum cardinalem de Aragonia vulgariter nuncupatum, incipiente, *Designavit dominus alios septuaginta et duos, &c.* Reverendissimus in Christo pater dominus Alexander sancti Eustachii diaconus cardinalis de Farnesio vulgariter nuncupatus stans in thalamo eminenti, ubi dictus dominus noster Papa sedebat, legit schedulam tenoris infra scripti, nomine suæ sanctitatis, propter indispositionem sui corporis impediti, videlicet.

Indicto per nos hoc sacro Lateranensi Consilio, de quo, cum in minoribus essemus sæpenumero cogitavimus, et ad summi apostolatus apicem vocati, omnino nobis celebrandum proposuimus, dum ante ipsius inchoationem bella inter Christianos vigentia sedare, et oves perditas ad ovile dominicum reducere intendimus, repente intestina hæresis, insidiante Satana bonorum operum perturbatore, domum Dei, quam decet sanctitudo, invasit. Ne igitur contagiosa pestis latius serperet, et Christi gregem nobis commissum sensim inficeret, pastoralis officio jugiter invigilantes, vocemque Isaïæ animo repetentes: *Ini consilium, coge concilium* · diutius cunctandum fore non duximus. Convenimus itaque, venerabiles fratres, vosque dilecti filii, hodierna solenni die in hac Lateranensi basilica, ut in Spiritu sancto congregati viam veritatis eligamus, et abjicientes opera tenebrarum, induamur arma lucis. Vos igitur hortamur in Domino, ut illum præ oculis habentes, qui est via, veritas et via, in medium libere consulatis, Deo magis quam hominibus placere studentes. Speramus enim domino cooperante in hac sacra Lateranensi Synodo sentes ac vepres ab agro Domini penitus extirpare, depravatos mores ad meliorem frugem redigere, pacem inter Christianos principes componere, denique expeditionem adversus hostes fidei inter se dissidentes decernere, ut in hoc vexillo salutiferæ crucis quæ huic sacro concilio auspicatissimum dedit initium, antiqui hostis insidias superare valeamus.

No. LXVI.

(Page 134.)

*Exemplar. in Biblioth. Vaticana.**Oratio Civitatis Parm. ad Julium Secundum Pont. Maximum habita.**Magnifici Domini Jacobi Bayardi Juris utriusque Doctoris. Equitis et Comitis, Parmensium Oratoris, ad Beatissimum Julium Secundum Pontificem Maximum Optimum, Oratio habita in deditione Urbis Parmæ.*

SOLEMUS plerumque tristes, Beatissime Juli Pontifex optime maxime, multiplices ad exprimendam ægri animi acrimoniam voces reperire, lætis vero et exultantibus nescio quomodo non ita facile occurrunt. Evenit enim sæpenumero ut jucundos admodum quidam veluti mentis error occupet. Id quod mihi quoque id presentiarum accidisse ita sentio, ut unde publicum meæ Civitatis gaudium aperiam satis idoneam Orationem (etsi jampridem hoc saxum volvo) nondum inveni-
 rim : nam cum cogito, dum expiscor, dum in magna veluti verborum silva anxius pervagor, devius voluptate animus aberrat. Neque aliam arbitror ob causam voluptatem Egyptii sextodecimo numero exprimebant. Quia illa nimirum ætas petulans inconstansque voluptati dum nimium indulget, rationem penitus et consilium dediscere consuevit. Sumusque præmodum læti ; non illi fere ætati absimiles. Itaque si parci-
 or communis lætitiae voluptatisque quam Parma nostra civitas te principe a Deo immortali cœloque ipso sibi misso concepit venditator fuero, si parum in Oratione constans et minime castigatus, sit hæc Civitatis Populique Parmensis gratulatio locupletissima. Ut primum enim lætissimas tui divini nominis audiit acclamationes, oblita cladium quas a Barbaris, quibus ad extrema fere deducta, passa est innumeras, movere sese ab imis sedibus urbs ipsa visa est, gestireque, et certis quibusdam nutibus testari quam læta foret quam jucunda, quam sibi denique felicitatem polliceretur.

Certe si in præstando officio expendi cujusque animus debet nulla unquam Civitas quamquam pro acceptis beneficiis tam grata tamque fidelis pariter et obsequens fuit. Sed ibo qua me impellit voluptas, nulla inquam Civitas in Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam talem unquam, tamque affectam se ostendit. Obtulerint aliæ habenas, impenderint pecunias, aras, focos, liberos, militaverint, navigaverint, bella passæ sint. Parma (quod summum est, quod nec vi, nec ferro, nec cædibus extorqueas) voluntatem ajo ipsam, et animum impendit. Quippe seculis Patrum nostrorum cum etiam sub Tyrannis degeremus, bona pars Civitatis Parmæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ semper constantissime favit: et novissime sub Barbaris contineri studia hominum ac cohiberi plausus, quamquam extrema illi minarentur, vix poterant: quibus ex rebus plurima a Gallis Civitas perpressa est detrimenta. Norat enim natio Italis semper infensa quo in te animo essemus, cujus nomen ab hominum cordibus facile non posset aboleri. Quare non solum factum est ut non evelleretur, sed ut longe amantiores essemus. Nimirum solent qui amant si quid patiantur ob istud ipsum jacturæ, vehementius etiam diligere percupereque quod difficilius periculosiusque ad consequendum videatur. Adde quod Parma Civitas nostra, immo tua, Beatissime Juli Pontifex optime maxime, jam ab initio cognominata est Julia, ut in antiquis nostræ Civitatis monimentis legitur, quod fatis tamen ipse nequaquam adscripserim, sed Dei maximi providentiæ, cujus æterna mens facile præviderat quandoque futurum, ut inexplebili Tyrannorum siti exhausta, teterrimis Barbarorum rapinis et incursionibus vexata tandem sub Opt. Max. Julio. Pontifice quem vere nobis Secundum præsciverat, interspiraret, defessasque vires et accisas reficeret. Sunt etiam qui nostra e Civitate majores tuos originem traxisse opinentur; adeo quod uni ingeniorum Principi Homero contigit, tot te sibi urbes vendicare, quamquam ut de illo Antipater, ita propter summas et incredibiles animi et corporis dotes de te prædicare non erubescamus, Patriam tibi esse cælum. Nam nec aliunde te tot infractum bellis venisse, tot indefessum cædibus, tot Belgarum insidiis, cedere ac vinci nescium tot periculis

domi forisque circumventum, tot inexhaustum sumptibus, tot sceleratas hiemes, tot æstus, tot vigilias, tot labores passum hoc ætatis Principem arbitrari convenit. Propterea est quædam privata nobis Parmensibus tuæ immortalis gloriæ voluptas, ceteræ Italiæ immo orbi non communis et propria gratulatio, quæ cogitari facilius potest quam exprimi, vel si maxime possit, in aliud rejicienda est tempus. Nunc dedit sese tibi Beatissime Juli Pontifex Optime Maxime tua Julia Parma; id libenter prolixèque facit: sanctissimis advoluta pedibus dedit Civium animos, et Incolarum voti demum compotes tam fidos et obsequentes, quam par est, summo rerum humanarum divinarumque Principi devotos subditos. Et nos Oratores Juliam Parmam armis, litteris, religione insignem, soli fertilitate beatam, Procerum frequentia illustrem, cœli temperie salubrem, animi magnitudine excelsam, vere Romanam, Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ jure hereditario diu debitam, atque a tuis prædecessoribus jam possessam ut publicis habetur documentis, hactenus per Tyrannos, et præsertim Gallos vi occupatam, et illegitime detentam, tibi Julio Optimo Maximo Pontifici, vero Christi Vicario, legitimo Petri successori, Sedique Apostolicæ, potius restituimus quam damus, inviolabile juramentum fidelitatis et omagii qua valemus reverentia læti et exultantes præstare parati. Tu vero Juli Pontifex Optime Maxime ita nos suscipe, ita habe, tueareque (ut optimum Principem decet) ita amplectere, protege, et fove, ut intelligamus Dei te munere, cui tua summa virtus et pietas cordi semper fuit, nobis et toti fidelium gregi optimum parentem contigisse. Vos vero cœlites omnes, Tuque Deus maxime dator innocentiae, qui tibi Principes, quorum subditiōe omnes degunt homines, curæ esse voluisti, Beatissimum Julium Pontificem optimum Maximum non solum Juliæ Parmæ, verum etiam totius Italiæ libertatis defensor-em, sospitem ac voti compotem dñi servate et incolumem. Dixi.

*Silva Francisci Marii Grapaldi, in deditione Parmæ, S.
Julio II. Pont. Max.*

Julio II. Pont. Max. Italiæ Liberatori.

GLORIA Pontificum, Salve, Rex maxime regum,
Atque pater patriæ, Juli, tutela, decusque
Justitiæ, tu Martis honor, cum bella moventi
Obstas, et merito vim vi propellis ; ad unum
Ausoniæ cessere Duces ; tua signa superbus
Contremuit Gallus, vinci modo nescius ulli,
Ut canis Egypti sitiens cum potat ad amnem.
Fatale est Julii quando tibi Gallia nomen.
Quo schisma ? aut quo conciliabula pluria ? Diræ
Hæc agitant : nebulas in dolia condere vanum est.
In stimulum quisquam non calcitret : optima vitæ
Sors est, sorte sua contentum vivere : te unum,
Te Italiæ gentes cupiunt, venerantur, adorant,
Expertæ quam sit durum servire Tyrannis :
Te duce, barbarici rabiem contemnimus hostis.
Te duce, quid paveant populi ? cui militat æther ;
Stat Deus æterno cui fœdere : maxime Juli,
Soter ades cunctis : sic nos te fronte serena
Accipimus : meritosque tibi præstamus honores,
Atque fidem, natas, nos, nostra, addicimus uni :
Pro te equidem prompti quæcumque extrema subire.
Auguror et vinctes : sunt in te nulla cupido,
Auri nulla sitis : mens est, atque unica cura
Stat patriæ, numerosa cohors de gente feroci
Assueta et bello ; nervi sunt rebus agendis
Invictusque animus, rerum experientia. Coeptis
Insiste : (haud dubita) dabitur mox omne quod optas.
Æmilie e primis sub te coiere quot urbes ?
Ecclesiæ et Juli sunt dulcia nomina, dulce
Regnum, sub dulci populi ditione perennent :
Te Regem, dominum volumus, dulcissime Juli :
Templa Deis, leges populis, das ocia ferro :
Es Cato, Pompilius, Cesar, sic Cesare major,
Sit qualis quantusque velit : civilia bella

Suscitat hic, reprimis placidus tu, mitis, et idem
 Tu gravis, et nulli est melior facundia : solus
 Tu Xerxem superas sumptus splendore togatum,
 Delicium humani generis, spes unica nostri :
 Ætatem robur supra est, in pectore robur,
 In cunctis robur : roburque insignia : victus
 Robur erat priscis ; homines de robore nati :
 Per te vita, salus, per te sunt cuncta renata,
 Dasque novam faciem Latio : liberrima per te
 Et nova libertas, multis non cognita ab annis :
 Gens Itala id debet tibi libera Roma Camillo
 Olim quod debet : terra hinc mare, sydera et urbes,
 Letitia acclamant : sed Parma ex omnibus una
 Lætior, atque tuum præsens modo numen adorat :
 Julia Parma tua est merito, quæ Julia Juli
 Nomen habet, sed re nunc est nunc Julia Parma :
 Parma tibi sese commendat, Parma precatur
 Suppliciter, populum addictum tibi, maxime Juli,
 Excipe, et exhaustis libeat succurrere rebus :
 Felicem præstent sedem tibi numina, votis
 Aspirent eadem, nec sit quod gaudia tollat,
 Nestoreamque simul fauste egrediare senectam.

Feliciter.

Beatissime Pater : cum me Patria a secretis comitem
 oratoribus in verba S. T. juraturis dedisset, visum est hæc
 pauca scribere in ejus laudem, quæ et illi recitavi, et nunc
 (ut jusserat) mitto, non quod docta elegantiaque sint et
 digna tanto numine : sed quod fidei et devotionis unde pro-
 dierant referta sunt : Tuæ S. erit animum expendere, non
 carmina : valeat diu felicissimeque S. T. cui me humiliter
 commendo.

Humillimus Servulus,

FRANCISCUS MAR. CRAPALDUS. PARMEN.

No. LXVII.

(Page 155.)

*Ex origin. in Archiv. Reip. Florent.**Reverendiss. Domino Joanni Medices Dei gratia Cardinali, ac Legato de Latere, Domino observantissimo. Florentiæ.*

DUM animi lætus sum, corporis autem infirmi, jam dicere possum, satis me vixisse arbitror. O quantum gaudium, o quantum refrigerium meum corpus febrizans sensit, dum illa serena facies in patriam restituta fuit. Donum Dei. Pervenî unice Reverendiss. Domine quo tendebam, et audebo familiarius loqui; numquam opes, neque dignitates optavi, nisi introitum illum tam felicem, tamque prosperum. Si vera loquor, Deus protector testis sit, et vita mea, huc semper omnes curas, omnes vigilias meas verti. Dicam illud Plutarchi ad Troianum Principem, virtuti vestræ gratulor, et fortunæ meæ. Hoc mihi solatium non mediocre peperit, quod illa relegatio injusta, dulcis, et prædilecta in Rempublicam facta sit, in qua Pater divus, pater patriæ Avus, Proavus tam justî, tam pii, et liberales in eam fuerunt. O veri Liberatores, protectores, auctores, divites opum, et predivites ingenii, ut scriptum erat: gloria, et divitiæ in eorum domibus. Ita senuerunt longa serie. Quid plura? Nunc nihil habeo, nisi Deum immortalem precari, ut desiderium, et sensum Reverendiss. D. vestræ ad ultimum vitæ finem mihi proferre liceat. Proinde quid animi restat, ut compos votorum meorum ad plenum sim. Solum manus sanctas dilectas osculem Deo favente, et Archangelo omnium Angelorum principe. Cupio cum Reverendiss. D. vestro bene vivere, et ad ultimum in ætate longaeva mori, et in Repub-

lica feliciter valere. Valeat R. D. V. in eo, qui omnia regit, et gubernat, et Servi fidelis memor.

Pridie calend. Septembris M. D. XII.

Reverendiss. Dom.

Vr. Servitor,

MICHAEL ANGELUS.

de Antiguardis.

Ar. Sanctæ Reparatæ de Castrocaro.

Io credo unice Reverendiss. Domine provvedere quella d'uno, o dua sparviere nidace, et de uno terzollo d'uno pare di cani liprieri, et di dua fanelli. Et quando, quod Deus avertat, bisognassi di cento amici palischi tutti son per fargli andare, dove quella designarà, et el corpo esporre cum le facultà. Come son veramente obligatissimo, pregando V. R. S. me riserbi un loco apresso a quella, come antiquo et fidele servo, et familiare, et dove occurrera andare in omnibus locis *usque ad inferos*.

NO. LXVIII.

(Page 164.)

Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. iv. p. 357.

Joan. Anton. Flamini.

AD JULIUM II. PONT. MAX.

MAXIME coelicolum cultor; quo præsides majus
 Nil videt, aut terræ clarius orbis habet;
 Quem divum genitor Romana in sede locavit,
 Et summum in terris jussit habere locum;
 Res gravis est, cui te moderantem cuncta necesse est
 Consulere, ac totis viribus esse ducem.
 Cura tibi, et generis late commissæ potestas
 Humani, quod te numinis instar habet,
 Ut spernenda tibi non sit pater optime nostri
 Tutela, aut tantis destituenda malis.

Aspice, quo rerum nostrarum summa redacta est,
Et patrium, cujus vix manet umbra decus.
Terra potens opibus, populisque, et fortibus armis,
Magnorumque altrix tam numerosa ducum,
Quæ domitrix rerum, cui terræ paruit orbis,
Gentibus exposita est, servitiumque timet.
Quanta sit hæc Latiae subeunda injuria genti,
Quam fœdum patriæ dedecus, ipse vides.
Cura tibi, scimus, debetur publica rerum,
Teque patrem populis omnibus esse decet.
Hoc tamen ante alias pars hæc pulcherrima rerum
Poscit, et imprimis digna favore tuo est.
Hic vetus imperii locus est : hinc clara propago
Pontificum : hic rebus gloria parta tuis.
Hæc patria, hæc sedes simul est tibi, qua regis orbem,
Et caput in populis hic quoque Roma tua est.
Mille alias possim causas memorare ; sed iis tu
Non egeas ; nec te me reticente latent.
Serviet ergo, quibus dominata est Romula tellus ?
Itala, tam turpi terra premere jugo ?
O patria ! O Divum sedes ! certissima custos
Imperii, et terris omnibus ante pavor !
Sic ne igitur vilis, sic tu contempta jacebis ?
Non arma arripient ? Non feret ullus opem ?
O pater, et tantæ tu, Romule, conditor urbis ;
O decus antiquum, bellipotensque genus !
Si vobis, si sensus inest, si gloria tangit,
Famaque sub Stygias pertulit ista domos,
Non facinus tetrum, stirpisque infamia vestræ,
Non acris animas ira, pudorque movent ?
Quo nunc Italiae, quo belli gloria cessit ?
Et vetus armorum militiæque decus ?
In tenebras abiit majorum lumen, et ingens
Gloria, quæ toto splenduit orbe, perit.
Brute, tuum hic nomen, tibi cruris gloria, Cocles,
Fit minor : et dextræ, Scævola, languet opus.
Aule, lacus tibi nunc decrescit fama Regilli ;
Nostra iterum Senones signa, Camille, petunt.

Magna parens, tellus altrix fecunda virorum ;
Tam sterilis foetu, tam sine honore jaces ?
Nullus erit Cossus ? non Manlius ? Impia nullum
Cursorem tali tempore bella dabunt ?
Non quisquam summis eludet montibus hostem ?
Nec spes in Deciis ulla salutis erit ?
Spes igitur rebus jam fessis una : suos quem
Non decet in tantis deseruisse malis.
Aspice nos placido, Latii pater optime, vultu ;
Et mala mox oculis mitibus ista vide.
Inspice : tam gravia hæc, tam mox horrenda videbis
Ut mens inspectis non queat illa pati.
Pestis atrox sævit ; morbi contagia crescunt :
Et mala præteritis asperiora ferunt.
Sic ubi conceptum est membris lethale venenum,
Inficit, ac sensim spargitur atra lues.
Hic agitur rerum de summa, deque salute
Certamen durum est totius Ausoniæ.
Si male res cedunt, libertas interit ; et res
Hæc stragem nobis, servitiumque parit.
Huc demum tracta est Italæ sors ultima gentis :
Nostraque tam dubio, vitæque, morsque loco est.
Quod si nos, tanti fortuna inimica duelli,
Cogat Santonico subdere colla jugo,
Quid tibi mentis erit ? Quo te nunc vertere possis ?
Quid tutum credas rebus inesse tuis ?
Quid Latium de te, quid regna externa loquentur ?
Quis rumor cunctis partibus orbis erit !
Exeat hæc igitur ? tam turpis fama vagetur ?
Hanc ferat in populis Ausonis ora notam ?
Insultare aliquis, vel dicere possit, Julo
Pontifice, Italiam barbara jura pati ?
O natum vere tunc infelicibus astris,
In patria qui sic vivere possit humo !
Tu potes in tanto rerum discrimine solus
Optatam populis ferre salutis opem :
Et potes, et debes rebus succurrere lapsis,
Ne Latium casu mox graviore cadat.

Viribus ipse vales propriis, quas ampla ministrat,
Et magis **CEnotrii** pars metuenda soli.
Tot tibi nunc parent urbes, tua jura sequuntur
Tot populi, ut possis omnibus esse metus.
Adde tot insignes equitum peditumque catervas ;
Tot simul egregios ad tua signa duces.
Flos Italæ, virtusque tibi delecta juventæ
Militat : in castris hæc habet arma tuis.
Quot confecta tibi jam tali bella fuerunt
Milite ? quot tali parta trophæa manu ?
Irrita cesserunt tibi numquam cœpta : nec ullæ
Conatus vires impediere tuos.
Majestas tibi tanta dehinc, tu tantus in ista
Sede nites : uni sic tibi posse datum est ;
Totus ut a nutu terrarum pendeat orbis
Ipse tuo, Christi qua patet orbe fides.
Cui solium Petri sic scandere contigit umquam ?
Cui numquam mersæ sic dare vela rati ?
Dux opus est acris populos qui cogat in unum : ***
Qui male concordēs jungat ad arma manus.
Sed nemo est, tibi quem conferri posse putemus :
Aut melius, quam tu, qui ferat ullus opem.
Fac tantum norint Itali te velle, coibunt,
Et novus in cunctis protinus ardor erit.
Qui **Senones** nostris ? quis miles **Santonus** armis ?
Belgica quæve Italīs sint satis arma tuis ?
Ausonio quoties jam milite Gallia victa est ?
Quot sævis pœnas cladibus illa dedit ?
Nulla fuit, simili quæ non invaserit olim
Eventu Latias gens inimica domos.
Quid genus **Æacidum**, quos patrum bellica virtus
Compulit a nostris finibus ire procul,
Aut tibi **Pænorum** referam numerosa potentum
Agmina ? quid **Cimbros**, **Teutonicamque** manum ?
Aut **Herulos** memorem perfusos sanguine nostro ?
Aut **Hunnas** acies ; semiferumque **Geten** ?
Non desunt vires, modo non concordia desit,
Atque habeat, qualem res petit ista, ducem.

Hæc tua sunt igitur : te solum hæc cœpta reposcunt :
 Auspiciis sunt hæc bella gerenda tuis.
Magna quidem est, verum provincia grandibus ausis
 Convenit, et curam postulat ista tuam.
Ingentes animos ingentia facta sequuntur :
 Nec tenues curas mens generosa capit.
Tradita præcipue gentis tutela Latinæ
 Est tibi ; et ad partes it prior ista tuas.
Quod licet (et poscunt nunc summa pericla) rogamus,
 Tuta sit ut tanto præside nostra salus.
Sit defensus honor, libertas, publica, per te ;
 Pristina sit Latio te duce parta quies.
Barbariem hanc magnis expertus sæpe periclis,
 Dum licet, Ausonio pellere Marte para.
Non tu tutus eris, non cani limina Petri.
 Ni properes, tutus non locus ullus erit.
Sæpe nocet gravibus morbis cessasse medentem :
 Sæpeque dilatam cura repellit opem.
In te oculos, in te verterunt ora Latini,
 Hoc sperant urbes, suppliciterque petunt.
Adde ingens decus hoc titulis, quos inclita virtus,
 Cœlestisque favor tot peperere tibi.
Nam quamquam in populis tua tantum gloria crevit,
 Ut facile augeri non queat illa magis ;
Tot tamen ex factis, nullum præstantius, et quod
 Te magis insignem reddere possit, erit.
Fama hæc Auroræ croceos properabit ad ortus ;
 Ad loca, quæ Phœbo deficiente tepent.
Fama hæc Ismariam Rhodopen transibit et Hæmum,
 Et populos medio quos videt axe dies.
Italia est, quam tu tutandam sumis, et in qua
 Est tua cum nostra Marte tuenda salus.

No. LXIX.

(Page 174.).

Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. vii. p. 172.

JOANNIS FRANCISCI PHILOMUSI NOVOCOMENSIS.

*Sylva, et Exultatio in Creatione Pont. Max.**Leonis Decimi.*

QUID sibi tot plausus ? quid tanta tonitrua poscunt ?
Quid poscunt celeres ad sacra palatia cursus ?
Fallor, an insonuit Medices mihi Nomen ? et illa
Vox tam grata homini, quam non ingrata Tonanti
Cœlitus emicuit tenues delapsa per auras ;
O festam, sanctamque diem ! o suffragia sancta
Candidiora nive, electro mage pura nitenti,
Quæ Deus omnipotens cœlo demisit ab alto
Parcarum signata manu : quæ lacteus orbis
Excepit, fovitque sinu, quibus atra recedant
Flagitia, et Fidei jam longa oblivio sanctæ.
Quis bella, et cædes, et prælia dira facessant,
Quis bona mens, pax alma, pudor, probitasque, fidesque,
Et sancti redeant mores, et præmia morum.
Sed quæ turba sequens urget ? quæ turba sequentem
Me prior exculcat sancta hæc suffragia cantu
Intempestivo celebrantem ? En templa sacerdos
Maximus ingreditur, populique Patrumque corona
Stipatus. Salve o Numen sanctumque, piumque.
Noctem oculis, noctem menti, noctem excute sacris
Carminibus, pectusque pio mihi robore firma.
Nam quid inops animi pavor hic per genua per artus ?
Nam quid ad ima redit singultim spiritus et vox ?
En supplex procumbo, en genua pedesque beatos
Amplector, jam se facies augustior offert
Supra hominem, captumque hominis, jam tollor in auras
Supra hominem, captumque hominis, jam Numen amicum
Experior ; sacri video penetralia cordis,

Magnanimamque fidem, cujus cervicibus altis
 Humanumque genus, magnusque innititur orbis.
 Salve Magne Parens hominum, cui summa potestas,
 Summus honos triplici frontem Diademate cingit,
 Unde sacri flexo ~~certatim~~ poplite Reges
 Imperii pia jura petunt, et fascibus ultro
 Summissis adeunt, et sanctum Numen adorant,
 Cujus ab excelso pendet vitæque, necisque
 Judicium nutu, cujus de luce suprema
 Celsum iter ad summum nobis aperitur Olympum,
 Quemque Deus dedit esse Deum mortalibus ægris,
 Cujus in augusto divinæ culmine Petræ
 Fundamenta piæ Fidei certissima jecit.
 Sed quibus hanc titulis, quibus hanc virtutibus arcem
 Te meruisse canam? circumstant agmine longo
 Centenique patent aditus. Tu siste parumper,
 Magne Leo, mentem tantarum in limine laudum.
 Neve precor tibi me claris Natalibus offer;
 Neve offer patriæ Florentis amabile nomen.
 Dum majora cano, dum non vacat ire per omnes
 Herois magni titulos. Insigne Parentum
 Nomen avis, abavis, atavis, præfulserit; at qui
 Non ita præfulsit, ne major ab indole lampas
 Fulserit usque tua. Patria est illustris, at illam
 Illustrant Medices mage, quam illustrentur ab illa.
 Illustrant velut astra tamen, velut æthra serena
 Nocte micat. Medio tu sol clarissimus orbe
 Largiris patriæ insigni lucemque, caloremque,
 Ut vivat Duce te, æternos et floreat annos.
 Nec generosa pii referam cunabula partus,
 Maternosve sinus, teneris ut creverit annis
 Et pudor, et probitas, castæque modestia mentis,
 Semper et innocui sine labe, et crimine mores.
 Ingrediare meos mihi longe augustior orsus
 Puniceo cinctus caput hoc illustre Galero.
 Prætextæ nondum, ac bullæ tua cesserat ætas,
 Cum supra ætatem sapere, et profectibus annos
 Vincere te magni vidit pia cura Parentis;

Atque ait : hæc nobis domus est satis ampla, sed uni
Est angusta tibi. Magnæ te mœnia Romæ
Accipiant, bona mens cui tantum indulsit, et alti
Doctrinarum haustus. I fili, grande Parentum
Grande decus Patriæ, melioribus vivere fatis,
Et fortuna domus et gratia poscit honestæ,
Et tua religio, mea ne sinat irrita vota,
Indole macte tuæ : mira indulgentia summi
Pontificis vicit pia vota, precesque parentum.
Et subito sublimis apex tibi vertice sedit.
Tum vero qualem te publica munia, qualem
Te privata domus vidit ? quo tempore mores
Præcipites labi cœpere, et recta relinqui
Officia, et metis longe post terga relictis
Roma potens sceleri totas effudit habenas ;
Unus eras nulla conspersus labe veneni,
Non secus ac Psyllus Libyæ sitientibus arvis
Cui dirum afflatum posuit, cui sibila serpens
Non oculis, non dente minax, non verbere sævus.
Insidiæ, et fraudes tota dominantur in Urbe.
Terror, et ira nocens, et nullis tetra libido
Nominibus parcens, nulli non conscia culpæ,
Ungue minax unco, piceataque dextera torvis
Anguibus, et rigido miscebat proelia ferro.
Hic nigris volitans alis instabat Erinnys
Tartareas accensa faces, et Pyxidis usu
Terrificæ succincta sinus, geminoque cruentam
Letho armata manum, cædes, ac bella ciebat.
Inter tot rerum discrimina solus ab alti
Libertate animi pendens, sanctæque recessu
Mentis, eras vultu intrepido, Fidei ægide tectus,
Et cupiens animam pro religione pacisci.
Tum quoties trepido vexata est Roma tumultu,
Ortaque seditio diris immiscuit armis
Omnia, te circum placidæ longa otia Pacis,
Te circumstetit alta quies ; injusta tuorum,
Vidisti exilia, illacrimans non damna tuorum,
Damna tuæ patriæ magis, et miserabile fatum,

Ingratosque animos vano te nomine, vano
 Judicio extorrem vocitantes, cum tua virtus,
 Cum tua te Pietas procul asseruisset ab omni
 Fortunæ imperio. Patriæ tibi limes ab ortu
 Solis ad occasum longe lateque patebat.
 Exul erat patria illa nocens, oblita Parentes,
 Teque, domumque tuum insignem, et benefacta Parentum.
 At simul ac Patria est tibi reddita, reddidit illa
 Se sibi; quæque prius stricto pendebat ab ense
 Gallorum, hæc eadem pietatis tacta paternæ
 Nunc clypeo, æternos tecum florebit in annos.
 Hic diversa subit rerum fortuna tuarum,
 Quantaque in adversis fuerit tua cognita virtus,
 Qui modo Flaminiae fueras legatus, et armis
 Hispanis male defensus sub Gallica jura
 Jam legatus eras. Captivum dicere nemo
 Audeat, infensis qui te jus reddere Gallis
 Viderit, expressasque preces expressaque vota.
 Procubuisse tibi amplexos tua genua, pedesque,
 Supplice voce sui veniam petiisse furoris.
 Sic victor victoris eras, et ab hoste triumphum.
 Victore extorquens, quæ essent captiva docebas
 Quæve essent nullis obnoxia colla catenis.
 Ecce autem vinclis tibi rursum illudere certant
 Ducere trans Alpes, Regi ostentare potenti
 Insignem Christi de religione triumphum.
 Magnum iter emenso micuit tibi lampadis instar
 Fastigiatus apex, et circum tempora flammæ.
 Non hostes sufferre valent, non tela, nec enses
 Ignivomæ frontis faciem. Sic agminis ordo
 Turbatus, longo proprior fuit intervallo,
 Qui proprior: disjecta fuga sunt Gallica castra.
 Protinus: Italiæque humeris in tuta receptus
 Ausus es a Patriæ oppressis cervicibus ingens
 Excussisse jugum. Cum te tua Roma repente
 Advocat, atque jubet majora capessere fata,
 Auspiciis longe majoribus astra mereri.
 Erepti quærendus erat successor Juli,

Illis, quæ possent hominique, Deoque probari
Artibus, has inter belli, fideique procellas,
Quem pia religio commendet et inclita virtus,
Ab Jove qui summa Cœli credatur ab arce
Demissus, Fidei cui demandentur habenæ,
Quem tantum sentire queat, monstrare nec audeat
Nec possit mortale genus, te præter, in omnes
Virtutum numeros sic alto vertice supra
Sic extantem humeris, ut te tua Roma, Latinæ
Optarint urbes, populi, Regesque, Ducesque ;
Omnis et optarit te voto supplice Mundus
Ante pia hæc fratrum suffragia, qualia summi
Lætus ab arce poli cernens, hominumque probata
Religione, Deus votis subscripsit honestis.
Murmura jam cessent veteris turpissima famæ
In procures Fidei, quos nunc non ulla potentum
Gratia, amicitia non vis, fraudesve, dolive,
Non spes ulla lucri a vero detorsit et æquo.
Ambitus æternum tenebris damnatus et Orco
Pro diademato sibi vertice, frontis inustæ
Perpetuum jam stigma geret. Vos cardine rerum
In summo positos, per quos teterrima labes
Tartaream pâtitur centena in secula noctem,
Vos ego Patrones Fidei, Pietatis et almæ
Longum assertores vos religionis in ævum
Ut video, agnoscoque favens, ut pronus adoro !
Non rubros apices, speciosaque Nomina, et altos
Divinis titulis late ostentantia fastus,
Non comitum ingentem longo procul ordine pompam,
Sed puras, sanctasque manus, incoctaque honesto
Pectora, et humanos non respicientia sensus,
Atque pias Christi tantum meditantia leges.
Ergo lethifera, vobis auctoribus, istis
Excessere adytis pestes : jam cessit ab Urbe,
Cessit ab orbe nefas : utres difflavit inanis
Fastus, et ad meritos celsæ virtutis honores
Summisit fascēs : cessit furor omnis, et omnis
Ira nocens : Strophadas ultra exarmata Celæno

Evolat, et livens tandem sibi Livor edaci
 Dentem dente ferit, tantum in sua viscera sævus.
 Emigrantque malæ pennis pernicibus artes
 Euphratem supra, et Nilotica flumina supra;
 In quarum subiere locum læto agmine mores
 Ingenui, sanctæque artes, jus, fasque, piumque.
 Roma exuta gravi languentia corpora culpa
 Induit assimiles justo sub Principe mores.
 Cujus ab exemplo jamdudum Maximus orbis
 Ad vitæ faciem sese componit honestæ.
 Artibus his tantam meruisti scandere sedem :
 Artibus his retinenda tibi est, augendaque tantis
 Officiis, ut spem, fuerit quæ maxima, vincas,
 Quando visus eras nondum diademate cinctus ;
 Ut te omnes virtute tua, meritisque minorem
 Esse affirmarent. Nunc quum nil maximus orbis
 Te melius videat, nil te sublimius uno,
 Optima si præstes, semper videre necesse est
 Humano generi longe meliora daturus.
 Jam sancti accipiant amplissima munera mores ;
 Ingeniis nec priscus honos, nec gratia desit.
 Expectent majora tamen, melioraque semper ;
 Nec frustra expectent, modo sit pax alta per omnes
 Et tranquilla quies populos ; Regesque, Ducesque,
 Unanimes Duce te jungant in fœdera dextras.
 Jam vero i, volitans Pallas, bona nuntia pacis,
 Nuntia amicitiae ; populos, Regesque saluta.
 Ulterius ne odiis certent, irave minaci,
 Neu bello, neu cæde fremant, ferrove cruento,
 Diva jube. Dic clausa bifrontis limina Jani
 Pro foribus stare ædituum ad sacra Tempia Leonem,
 Nunc precibus, nunc vi, ferrum extorquere, minaces
 Exarmare hastas, nunc tradere Tybridis alveo
 Arma Ducum, illustres galeas, thoracas ahenos,
 Squallentes auro tunicas, atque ære trilicem
 Loricam, Mavortis equos, Mavortia castra,
 Gradivumque Patrem in Thracas armare furentes ;
 Aonidum dehinc cincta choro, vatumque piorum,

Pontificis repetas sanctissima limina : tecum
 Sit pia relligio, sit morum grata bonorum
 Majestas, nulli deerunt sua præmia nullus
 Principis a tanti pedibus non lætus abibit.

No. LXX.

(Page 183.)

*Alla Clarissima Signora et Madonna, Madonna Contessina
 Medica, del Magnifico Piero Ridolphi consorte, et del
 Summo Pontifice Leone X. carnale Germana, Maestro
 Jo. Ja. Penni Medico Florentino S. P. D.*

SOGLIONO' li desiderosi in scrivere, clarissima et unicha mia Patrona observandissima, quando vogliono alchuno opusculo mettere a luce, acciò le rabide lingue senza lesione transgredere possino, dedicare a qualche Magnifica o colenda persona acciò sotto più favorevole ombra emissa più consideratamente dalli Lettori gustata sia (ancorche el basso ingegno et la mia rauca cetra non merti dal Lauro dali descendent de esso laude, o corona) Così io confiso nella tua benignia Magnificentia, o pigliato presumptione sotto l'ombra di quella, la presente operetta mandar fora acciò dove l'ingegno mio manchi el favore et humanità di quella per me supplisca. Et sappia V. S. non per altro essermi mosso se non la affectuosa volunta mia spronatomì, accio secundo mia conditione possi far cosa che sia grata a quella. Et anchora perchè la famosa Prosapie Medica per spatio di tempo delle glorie immense, et famosi triomphi obnubilata, non inlaudata passasse, et accio li descendent nostri per il tempo senza cognitione di sì magno triumpho non decessino restare. Et si vegia che 'l Summo Fattore miserato a questa nostra Europa, over Christianità, habi voluto el Laureo tempo, o vogliamo dire Aureo per sua clementia retorni; che possiamo dire da che successe la condolenda morte della Laurea Magnificentia, primo membro dello Italico potentato viridario virtuoso, et della Pontificia prole degno geni-

tore, possemo dire da indi in qua la eta aurea con la virtuosa premiazione insieme con laureato corpo fossin sepulte, donde sequi che li Italici Potentati, lassate le virtuose imitatione, ale quale a gara di Lauro davano opera, chi in vendicarsi con el inimico, chi per cupidita di thesoro o regno, pigliate le arme in mano, detteno causa che la aure aeta in ferrea se convertisse : donde n'è sequito effusion di sangue, stupri, rapine, depopulation de cita, et quasi ruina de tutto questo nostro Italico Regno, come habiamo a tempi nostri oculata fide possuto inspicere : insino a tanto che 'l Summo Rectore de questa mundial machina ha voluto per conservatione di quella, per vero Pastore delle anime dare a noi uno Leone, assai piu humile et immacolato che puro agnello : qual cosa l'universo cognoscendo, non la progenie sua, non la propria Cita, non Roma genitrice, ma tutta la Italia con la remanente Christianita con una vocealtro che 'l vivente Pastore non desiano. Sicche unicha Patrona mia, conoscendo io non se convenire ad un mortale a laudare un che sempre alle divine fur sue opre equale, perche non altrimenti mi trovo tra le tante narrande laude Pont. et de sua geste implicato, qual nochiero troppo auso creduta la cimba sua a procellosi venti disperato ridursi al tuto et desiato porto si trova. Pertantò non riguardando alla mia troppa ausa presumptione, ne al basso stile, ma più presto alla sparsa et exviscerata servitu quali da nostri antecessori di continuo alla nobile familia Medica e stata maxime cognoscendo io non essere persona niuna più gratamente fusse per acceptar tal dono, accio la S. V. absente le fraterne Pontificie laude et honesti triumphhi lieta possa con l'occhio mentale considerare quello che 'l corporale per la distantia del locho non a possuto : qual prego come affectuosamente si condona cosi gratamente quella si degni acceptare. Anchor che 'l donatore con la donata opera indegno si cognosca : pur qual sia con la continua servitù donando di continuo alla S. V. humanissima si racomanda, Valete.

Ar. S. ad Lectorem.

Cuncta mihi ex animo cesserunt optime lector
 Dum Pompæ exactæ grata trophea cano.
 Maximus hæc cernit Pastor : Germanus et illi
 Julius : et Medices candida turba domus.
 Attamen hoc unum conturbat gaudia, nullo
 Tempore quod LAURENS me leget ille prior ;
 Elysias sed si quicquam descendit ad umbras
 Heroum, hunc etiam tantula fama juvat.

A. P.

Qui vidit Decimi Lateranum Stemma Leonis
 Ille semel : cernes (hunc lege) multoties.

*Cronicha delle Magnifiche et honorate Pompe fatte in Roma
 per la Creatione et Incoronatione di Papa Leone X. Pont.
 Opt. Max.*

NEL anno della salutifera Incarnatione M. D. XII. a Di
 XX. del mese de Febraro, in Dominica sequente, il Lunedì
 ad hore XI. di nocte ; La felice memoria de Julio II. Pont.
 Max. de questa fragil vita passo, et portato dalli Canonici
 de San Pietro a sepellire in dicta Chiesa con debite et so-
 lemne cerimonie et pompa, come a tali Pontefici costumar si
 suole. Di poi per nove giorni continui furon celebrate per
 li Reverendissimi Cardinali le sumptuose et honorate exe-
 quie. Le quale finite il giorno sequente che forno Tre del
 Mese di Marzo da poi celebrata Messa del spirito Santo di
 commune concordia entrorno nel Conclave, quale preparato
 era nel palazzo Apostolico nella Capella della fe. re. de Sixto
 IV. Pont. Max. Si quali forno in numero Vinticinque per
 eligere uno nuovo Pastore alla grege Christiana ; et infusi
 per il divinò splendore del Spirito Sancto un Giovedi di
 nocte che forno Dieci del ditto mese di Marzo tutti ad una
 voce elessono in novo Pastore Joanni figliolo di Lorenzo de'
 Medici allhora Cardinale Diacono del titolo de Sancta Maria
 in Domenica, di era di anni xxxvii. et mesi tre. Et la mat-

tina sequente ad hore xiv. rotta la finestra del conclave quale era murata forno per el R. Alexandro de Farnesio Diaco, Cardinale de S. Eustachio tal parole con alta et intelligibili voce publicate; *Gaudium magnum nuntio vobis, Papam habemus, Reverendissimum Dominum Joannem de Medicis Diaconum Cardinalem Sanctæ Mariæ in Domenica; qui vocatur Leo Decimus.* Finite de publicare le dicte parole fu sentito per satio de hore doi nel Castello Adriano et il Palazzo Apostolico, santo strepito et romore de bombarde et altre artiglierie et suoni di varii instrumenti et campane et voce di populo gridare, VIVA LEONE, et PALLE PALLE, che pareva proprio il cielo tonitruasse, o fulminasse. Non molto da poi assentato in una Cathedra Pontificale dal detto Conclave con grande triumpho et comitato di tutto il Clero et Religiosi cantando *Te Deum laudamus*, in la Chiesa di Pietro al maggiore altare condotto fu, et quivi dalli Cardinali della sacra Chiesa fu intronizzato. Pervenuta la sera del detto di, et per octo continui giorni per tutta l'alma Citta di Roma furono fatti fuochi lumi et razi in segno di alegrezza; et in diversi lochi precipue tra nobili Mercanti Fiorentini furno buttati denari, et dispensato pane, et molte botte piene de vino in mezo delle piazze et strade si poneano; et de ogni sorte de instrumente da sonare davanti allor case et palazi si sonavano, et facevansi grandissime feste, attal che Roma non fu mai piu si lieta. Fu preparata di fare la solenne Coronatione adi xix. del prefato mese. Sopra delle scale marmoree del Principe deli Apostoli fu constructo un grande et amplo Palcho ligneo, et erectovi octo colonne bellissimi, et sopra di esse un cornicione rilevato si vedea ben fabricato che veramente marmoreo pareva. Sotto del quale nel primo aspetto sculpto era un breve a lettere majusculæ de oro, tal parole: LEONI X. PONT. OPT. MAX. LITERATORUM PRÆSIDIO, AC BONITATIS FAUTORI. Al resto circumcirca di finissimi panni di razza adornato era. Venuta la mattina del prefato giorno fu condotto dalli soi insieme con tutto il sacro Collegio de Cardinali, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, et Prelati dal suo Apostolico palazzo, in la Chiesa di San Pietro, et quivi in la Capella dello Apostolo Andrea

posato, furon cantati solennemente li matutinali Psalmi et orationi. Perfecte le decantate laude fu adornato de habito sacerdotale per celebrare la Messa, et menato dalla decta Capella a l'ara di Pietro, et el Maestro delle Cerimonie avanti di lui con doi arundine, una in man dextra, et l'altra in la sinistra, in la summitate delle quale una ballotta di stoppa, et una candela accesa, et genuflectendosi davanti allui, ponendo la candela in la stoppa, tale parole esprimeva : *Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi.* Pervenuto alla sacra ara di Pietro, quivi con grandissima divotione celebrò la sua prima messa, la qual finita si condusse al palco sopranarrato, et demoratavi alquanto, fu da doi Cardinali, cioè il Cardinale Farnesio, et de Aragona, sopra del suo capo imposto un regnio di tre Corone circondato, et di molte altre varie perle et gioie adornato, con gran tumulto di tubicine et altri instrumenti et alegrezza di populo, fu coronato. Di poi con ilare fronte benedetto tutto il populo quivi presente, in lo Pontifical palazzo retornò. Et ordinatosi per l'undecimo giorno del sequente mese de andare ad acceptare la possessione del suo Episcopato Lateranese. Pervenuto il dicto giorno con tale ordine detteno principio alla felice cavalcata.

Radunati nella platea del Principe delli Apostoli gran moltitudine de gente per accompagnarlo alla Laterana Ecclesia, in tal modo principiorno la triumphante andata. Primo homini ducento a cavallo armati con lance, con banderole, et in lor persona sajoni et calze con fiamme bianche et rossa, divisa Ursina. Non molto di poi a costoro venia piu di Cento Signori et Conti di diversi lochi, si della nobil genta Ursina et Columna, come Sabellica et Contescha, de finissimi brochati et velluti adornati, loro et lor stafieri et cavalli. Alzando li occhi tra i primi mi parve di vedere quel famoso Signore Jo. JORDANO in mezo di quella honorata copia, cioè S. Fabricio Columna, et S. Julio Ursino. Sequia da poi a costoro, a dui a dui, S. Franciotto, el Conte Pitigliano, S. Prospero de Cavi, et S. Camillo, S. Mario, S. Octavio, et S. Amico, della nobil familia Ursina; S. Alessandro de Pallestrina, et S. Federico Columna, S. Jo. Bapt. de Stabia,

et S. Stephano di Valmontone, et molti altri per non esser fastidioso a V. S. lor nomi taccio. Appresso di costor sequiano di molti et varii sonatori, vestiti alla divisa, o ver livrea del Pontifice, chi de velluto, chi de finissimo panno cioè bianco rosso et verde, et innel pecto un dignissimo richamo de oro facto vi era un Diamante con tre penne, una biancha, l'altra verde, e l'altra pavonaza, ligate al pie con un brevicello, nel qual vi era questa parola scripta, SEMPER: et derieto nelle rene un Jugo, con questa over simil littera di sopra. N. Di sotto un brevicello che dicea, SUAVE. El significato di tal cosa lassaro a voi considerare. Sequiano da poi questi l'antiguardia delli Greci, vestiti alla sopradetto livrea Pontificia di veste fatte a loro usanza con capelletti in testa, et lance con banderole et targhette. Apresso veniano le Valige delli Cardinali della Sacra Chiesa con degnissimi richami di oro, factovi la oro insegna overo arme. Insieme con queste erano doi simile rosate senza alcuno richamo, overo arme della Sanctità di nostro Signore; le quale sopra de Cavalli che quelle portavano, sopra uno era el Barbiere di Sua S. et l'altra el Sartore. Sequia costoro gran copia de nostri Concivi Merchanti di ricchissime veste di velluto, di raso chermosi, et panni rosati vestiti: tra li quali mi parve cognoscer Pier Francesco di Borgarini, Bindo Altoviti, Bernardo Bini, Pandolpho della Casa, Luigi Gaddi, Pier del Bene, Francesco della Fonte, Mario Guiducci, et Guidetto Guidetti: tutti con varie livree et devise alli loro staffieri. Non longe da costoro sequiano doi Maestri di Casa del prefato Pontifice, et derieto a dui li Scutiferi del nostro Signore vestiti di veste rosate, et Sajoni di damasco raso over velluto, et jupponi di raso chermusi: quali erano circa ducento sexanta. Et doppoi loro una Chinaea bianca coperta di velluto, sopra del dorso suo una scaletta coperta di velluto chermusi; con la quale el Papa monta a cavallo, era la soprascritta Chinaea da uno Palafriniere menata a mano, et lui con un bastone pinto rosso in mano. Sequian a costoro dodici Cursori vestiti de panni rosati sopra di belli cavalli con una bandiera in mano per uno di taffetto rosso, con la insegna del Pontifice. Sequiano dapoi a costoro tredici

giovani a piede, detti Conestavoli delli Romani, Capi de Regioni, con una bandiera in mano con la insegna della regione. Dapoi venian doi altri Cursori Bidelli del Roman Gimnasio con una simile bandiera in mano, che vera dipinto un Cherubino di focho per uno. Sequia non molto lontano da costoro lo Illustre Signore Giovangiorgio della nobil familia Cesarea, Confaloniere del populo Romano con un gran Vexillo in mano di seta rossa, di finissimo oro adornato, con la insegna del Populo Romano cioè littere simile de oro. S. P. Q. R. Et con lui havea gran copia di staffieri de finissimi rasi et velluti vestiti. Venia di poi el nobile gentilhomo Giovanne Blanckfeldt de la Marcha Brandeburgen, quale era vestito di candidissima seta, con un stendardo in mano di taffetto bianco, con una Croce negra nel mezo, per la religione di Sancta Maria Teutonicorum, con molti Staffieri di seta bianca vestiti. Et appresso sequia il nobil Cavaliere Misser Julio della famosa casa de Medici, al presente Archiepiscopo Fiorentino, che per la religione di Sancto Joanni Hierosolimitano Rodiano, el gran stendardo havea di taffetto rosso con una croce bianca nel mezzo, con gran moltitudine di staffieri a sua livrea vestiti. Non molto dapoi venia il Signor Frachasso con un altro gran Vexillo di seta rossa con le Chiave: qual era del Capitano della Sancta Chiesa, con staffieri di bròchato di oro et velluto vestiti. Sequitava un altro Nobil giovane con un altro stendardo in mano, qual diceano esser del Confaloniere di sancta Chiesa, cioè del Ducha di Ferrara, con molti staffieri come li antedicti adornate. Dapoi a costoro venian piu de ducento Signori Baroni et Cavalieri: i quali, chi con el Ducha di Ferrara, chi con quel di Urbino, e chi con el Signoro di Camerino venuti erano: Intra li quali el Signor Carlo Baglioni vi si vedeva: et altri nipoti et Parenti di Cardinali de richissimi vestimenti adornati. Preteriti costoro veniano nove Cavalli chiamati Achinee bianchissime, et tre Mule di richissimi fornimenti et coperte di brochato d'oro et velluto chermusi, con adornamenti di purissimo argento et oro, menate per mano da Parafrenieri vestiti con sajoni di velluto, jupponi di raso chermusi, scufie de oro,

berrette di rosato, et cinti de oro tirato, et bastoni di colore rosso in mano. Drieto a questi veniano doi Maestri di stalla con più di quaranta famigli di stalla a pie vestiti di rosato. Da poi a questi sequitavan quattro nobili giovani Romani nominati Scudieri di honore, li quali ciaschuno havea in mano un bastone di velluto chermusi, et in la summita era un cappello di velluto chermusi per uno della Sanctita di nostro Signore. Da poi a costoro sequivano cinquantasei coppie di Cubicularii, vestiti di rosato con li cappucci attorno il collo foderati di bianchissimi armellini. In fine di questi erano quattro altri similmente: i quali dui di loro haveano una Mitria Episcopale in mano per uno, de richissime gioje et perle adornate, li altri doi Regni circondati di tre corone tutti de finissime gioje adornati. Sequiano poi dieci Corsieri con barde di brochato di oro coperte con regazi sopra con cimieri in testa bellissimi et lance in mano. Parvemi vedere dopo a questi Regazi el Signor Nicolo Nipote della fe: me: di Julio II. con lui molti Signoro sequitarlo con tanti adornamenti che dirò, come disse il Mantuano Poeta: *Non mihi si linguæ centum sint oraque centum, ferrea vox,* La minima parte non bastarebbe a narrare. Appresso; di costoro sequian molti nostri Giovani floridi. Tra quali questi mi parve di cognoscere Pietro de Paulo Antonio Soderini, Pierfrancisco de Lorenzo de' Medici, Simone Tornabuoni, Giovannino de Giovanni de' Medici, Antonio de' Medici, Pietro de Jacomo Salviati, Luigi vostro primogenito, Bernardo del Butta de' Medici, Piero Pucci, Luigi Martelli, Misser Riciardo Milanese, Raphaello Pucci, et Raphaello de' Medici, Girolamo Morelli, Filippo Strozzi, Francesco Tornabuoni, Antonio da Ricasoli, Leonardo Bartholini, et Misser Filippo da San Miniato, Commessario genèrale del Sanctissimo Pontefice; et molti altri assai, che per abbreviare taceremo. Costoro ciaschaduno vestiti di finissimi drappi con varie livree di divise di drappi alli loro staffieri ricamente decorati passorno. Preteriti costoro sequiano li Oratori, si quelli della Marcha Anconitana, como quelli del Patrimonio, del Ducato Spoletano, della Romandiola, et de Bologna, et della nostra Cita florida, vi erano Matheo Strozi, et

Francesco Vittori, quello della Signoria Veneta, del Catholico Re di Spagna, del Christianissimo Re di Franza, quel del Serenissimo Imperatore in mezo di Jacobo Salviati, et del Illustre Julio Scorciati allora Senator di Roma. Venne dappoi questi Francesco Maria Ducha di Urbino con livrea negra di velluto e raso se et sua staffieri, per dimostrare el dolore del suo Zio morto Julio II. Pont. Max. Et con lui el Magnifico Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici con infinita moltitudine di staffiera a sua divisa et livrea. Et perche la Sanctità del nostro Signore Papa Leone, mentre che la honorata compagnia allordine cavalcava, voleva montare a cavallo, havendo dello ammanto Ducale rivestito lo Illustre Alfonso da Esti Duca Benemerito di Ferrara, el prefato Duca montata sopra della China la quale doveva cavalcare el Papa, cavalco alquanti passi, et dipoi dismantato tenne la staffa al benignio Pontifice, et assettatogli li paramenti attorno, monto sopra del suo cavallo, et ando allo ordine dove nel processo del cavalcare lo ritroveremo. Da poi la onorata compagnia, dui Custodi Hostiarii con un baculetto in man per uno, coperti di velluto chermusi in segno di loro offitio. Et drieto aloro, tre Subdiaconi Apostolici, li quali quel di mezzo portava sopra de un gran bastone argenteo et deaurato la Sanctissima Croce. Sequia di poi una bianchissima China: et quella sopra del dorso suo havea un tabernaculetto adornato di brochato d'oro nel qual dentro si posava la Sacra Eucharistia, et di sopra era un bellissimo baldacchino, et circumcirca forse vinticinque Parafrenieri con torce di purissima cera bianca accense in mano, et drietoli il Sacrista con un baculo ligneo in mano, per custodia di Christo. Successe da poi questi a dui a dui un Secretario et uno Advvocato consistoriale. La prima coppia erano dui chiamati Perfetti navales, et havean tutti in dosso una cotta over camiso, et di sopra un Piviale, ma erano alla Apostolica, cioè scoperti il braccio diritto. Sequian costoro li Cantori della Capella Pontificia, et li Clerici della Apostolica Camera, et li Advocati Consistoriali con loro, el Maestro del sacro Palazzo, con li rochetti et cotte indosso. Dappoi sequian tutti li Episcopi, et Archiepiscopi, i quali fono circa CC.

cinquanta, sopra di buoni cavalli coperti tutti di guarnello biancho, excepto li occhi donde vedeano, et loro haveano in dosso sopra di loro rochetti Piviali adornati de richissimi lavori: et le mitrie in testa di finissime tele bianche. Sequian poi li Cardinali della Sacra Chiesa a l'ordine loro, cioè prima i Diaconi, da poi li Preti, li ultimi li Episcopi, vestiti secondo li sacri ordini che havevano, cioè li Diaconi con le Dalmatiche, li Presbiteri con le Pianete, et li Episcopi con li Piviali de richissimi brochati di oro, sopra di Cavalli coperti tutti fino in terra di taffetto bianco, et loro con le mitrie di candidissimo damasco in capo. Tra li quali dui primi Cardinali, cioè Sigismundo Reverendissimo Cardinale di Mantoa, et Alfonso Reverendissimo Cardinale Senense, era lo Illustre Duca di Ferrara de una richissima veste di oro adobato con gran copia di bene adornati staffieri: et ciascheduno de sopradetti Cardinali havea a piedi octo Parafrenieri bene in ordine con un bastone bianco in mano per uno: et quattro o ver sei camerieri con sajoni et robe di velluto damascho o raso. Veniva dapoì el R. Padre Paris de Grassis Episcopo Pisaurensis. Maestro delle Cerimonie. Dapoì lui Alexandro Cardinale di Farnesio, et Reverendissimo Cardinale di Aragona. Dapoì la guardia delli Elvetii in giubone bianchi e rossi et calze simile con un broncone verde, che nasceva dal pie ritto, et per la gamba di fuore si distendeva per el giubone sino alla mano, che pareva una pittura. Veniano dapoì questi li Parafrenieri del Papa, insieme con li Capi de' Regioni de Roma vestiti di raso chermusi, et velluti et altri richi drappi, et con Coloro li Conservatori et altri Officiali Romani, tutti di finissimi velluti chermusi vestiti; et questi portavano lo honorato baldacchino. Sotto del quale sopra di una Achinea veniva quello Illuminatore della fede Christiana, dicho Successor di Pietro, LEONE DECIMO con un richissimo piviale adosso, et un regnio in testa adornato di tre corone auree, et di molte altre gioje et pietre pretiose, donando la sua sancta Benedictione a tutto quanto il populo che per le strade genuflexo a veder era, et ad alta voce gridava, VIVA LEONE LEONE, et PALLE PALLE, per terra et per mare, che

per infino al cielo da picoli puti, dali giovani et di vechi, et donne tal boche risonavano. Sequia derieto a lui lo Illustrè Giovanni Maria de Varano S. di Camerino, et il R. patre Mercurio de Vipera Decano delli Auditori di Rota, et Capellano del prefato Pontifice. Appresso venia un Clerico de la Camera Apostolica, nomato Misser Ferrando Ponzetto, quale havea davanti lo arcione del cavallo doi sportoni pieni de danari, con la impronta overo insegna del prefato Leone X. et de quelli per tutta la via, hora in qua hora in la, ad tutto il populo spargendo. Di poi costui sequiano li Reverendi Prothonotarii con veste ad usanza Cardinea, excepto che li Capelli erano tutti negri. Finalmente sequia la retroguardia, quali erano piu di quattrocento Balestrieri, a cavallo, con sajoni alla divisa over livrea Pontificia, delli quali ne eran Capitani Guido Guaina, Giornamo degli Albizi, et Vincentio de Tibure. Così felicemente ad ordine questa ornata compagnia andava fino alla Sede Lateranense. Et immediate di poi questi tutti di nuovi panni et drappi passo la mia Magnificagine, come la Mula del Zacheria, cioè con li mia fornimenti vechi, con livrea di calze una rotta, et l'altra straciata, senza staffieri, perche ero a pie. Partendosi de Pontifical palatio trovorno davanti la casa di Cechotto Jenuese uno apparato quadrato in tal modo costrutto. Sopra di quattro columne argentate era un bello festone, et di sopra un fregio di panno azzuro attorno attorno, adornato di dentro di diamanti, penne, et Jugi, et Palle deaurate, con odoriferi profumi. Dalla parte di fuora del predicto fregio verso il palatio a lettere di oro tal parole vi erano scripte: LEONI X. PONT. MAX. QUIETIS ATQUE ARTIUM LAUDATORI. Da l'altra banda che l'Capel Castel rimirava, a simil lettere tal parole vi erano, VIRTUTIS ALUMNO, FORTUNÆ DOMINATORI. Sopra del narrato fregio era una coronice che veramente marmorea pareva, et il cielo del apparato era di panni chiamati rovesci azzurri. Di sopra in ciaschuno angulo della coronice era una Palla deaurata, et fra le dui Palle era una insegna, o vero arme Pontificia. Di sotto tra una columna et l'altra per ogni parte era uno quadro di pittura da non insufficiente Maestro pitte: in quel che da man destra stava, era il Papa

in un cielo infra dui rami di palme, et dalla dextra mano un Sancto Pietro et un Sancto Paulo che parlavan col dicto Papa, et da l'altra mano si vedea un angelo sonare una tromba, et havea nella banderiola della tromba l'arme Pontificia: sotto a questo si vedea uno arco cioè Iris, et sotto l'arco montagnie, fiumi, pianure, arbori, frondi, homini et donne, et un brevicello che dicea: **APERTUS EST ORBIS ET EXIVIT REX GLORIÆ.** Dalla sinistra mano dello apparato in nel quadro era pitto il Pontifice che sedea, et dalla mano dextra eron molti Re genuflexi che li presentavano oro et argento, et di sopra di questi era un brevicello che dicea: **PARCERE SUBJECTIS:** Da l'altra mano erano certi Imperatori con un altro brevicel di sopra che dicea: **DEBELLARE SUPERBOS.** Dal narrato apparato di qua et di la, la strada per insino al Castello Adriano de bellissimi panni parata si vedeva. Alla porta del prefato Castello era un palco ligneo coperto di broccati di oro et sericei drappi; qui erano molti Judei con le tabelle de loro legge con octo facelle bianche di cera accense, et quando quivi pervenne **LEONE X. PONT. OPT. MAX.** domandorno esserli confirmate le loro lege: pigliato dal prefato Pastore dalloro un libello aperto in mano, et lectovi alquanto, queste dui parole mi parve de intender: *Confirmamus scd non consentimus*, lassandosi caschare il libro in terra seguitò il suo camino. Dal Castello sino allo exito del ponte era apparato de belli et richi panni adornati con festoni et insegne Pontificie, Jugi, diamanti, et penne. Allo exito del ponte era un bellissimo arco, che a quelli che alli antiqui triumphanti Romulei si faceano: el quale in tal forma stava. Questo dignissimo arco dalla parte che 'l Castello riguardava da ogni banda facea un poco di curvo, innella qual curvità in quella che da man dextra era, si vedeva depicta una donna che tenea in la man sinistra un libro, et la dextra con un digito disteso alzava verso il cielo, nell'altra curvità era un Apollo con la lira in mano, et la pelle di Marsia in su la spalla et l'arco et la pharetra a li piedi, haveva di poi il prefato arco dua pilastri con li suoi capitelli, nel mezo de quali artifiziosamente di ciascuno usciva una fontana. Di quella che da man dextra era usciva di una palla

vino mero et singulare, et dall'altra di una guastada di vino acqua clarissima et pura : et sopra i capitelli di ditti pilastri era uno architrave che quando era sopra la medietate della curvità dello arco vi stava una testa di Leone che haveva appenso un diamante in bocca : era sopra questo architrave un fregio pitto a Leoni, diamanti, et penne, et sopra tal fregio una coronice, et di sopra uno epitaphio a lettere di oro di tal tenore: **LEONI X. PONT. MAX. UNIONEM ECCLESIASTICAM INSTAURANDI CHRISTIANOSQUE TUMULTUS SEDANDI STUDIOSO:** di sopra lo narrato epitaphio un'altra coronice dove sopra vi si posava la inclita insegna Pontificia in mezzo di dua Leoni i quali ciascuno un piede sopra una Palla et l'altro alla insegna tenevano, et havevan di sotto un brevicello per uno, delli quali uno ne dicea: **PRÆDA DIGNA MEÆ GLORIÆ,** et l'altro, **MIHI CURÆ EST.** Entrato poi sotto lo arco nel suo cielo si vedea in uno ottangulo la Pontificale insegna, et era tutto questo cielo ad octanguli compartito, dentrovi varie fantasie tra li quali in uno era lo Redemptor nostro Jesu Christo, che dava le chiavi al principe delli Apostoli, Pietro. En in l'altro un sacrificio vi si vedea; et da ogni banda del dicto arco nelle sue faccie di dentro eran doi belli quadri ne quali quello che da man dextra era si vedea il Pontefice in una cathedra Pontificalmente aparato sedere, et de intorno molti Imperatori Re et Principi i quali pareva che se pacificassino et adorassino: da l'altra mano molti populi che se abbracciavano. A piede della sua degna residentia erano due fanciulli che haveano una facella di fuoco in mano et radunati molti instrumenti bellici si li abbruciavano. Dalla man sinistra del arco era la nobil Cita Florida et molti concivi di quella pareva che lietamente el Papa in habito Cardineo hilari lo acceptassino, si che festigiando pareva che dentro alle porte di quella volessino intrare. Et cosi dentro questo arco era situato senza narrare le parti da pie, le quale per non esser prolixo lasso. Dalla facciata di fuori cioè la parte che nelli banchi riguardava stava come nella faccia che rispondeva verso il Castello, excepto che questa parte facea doi gomiti più larghi che li anteditti: nel gomito ad mano dextra era un tabernaculo, o vogliam dire

un mezo nichio nel quale si vedea di rilievo una figura de una donna assai più grande del naturale, et questa dalla dextra mano havea una spada, et dalla sinistra una Palla, e sotto i piedi un brevicello di tal tenore: *E CÆLO TANDEM REDI.* E di sopra passato lo architrave fregio et cornice era pur di rilievo un Christo che pareva parlassi, tanto naturale si vedea: questo havea le chiave in mano, et alli piedi un breve che dicea: *TRADO TIBI TERRÆ ET CÆLI REGNUM.* Nel gomito della man stanca de l' archio in un nichio era una donna rispondente al'altra, la quale havea un Regnio Papale dalla dextra mano, et dalla sinistra una palma, et sotto i piedi un breve di tal suono: *PRECLARÆ VIRTUTIS PRÆMIUM.* Et sopra li medesimi ornamenti detti era pur di rilievo genuflexo un Sancto Pietro che guardava a Christo che da l'altra banda habiamo scritto, lo epitaphio che da questa banda era sopra lo arco diceva: *LEO X. PONT. MAX. VINCENDO SEIPSUM OMNIA SUPERAVIT.* Et di sopra doi Leoni con l'arme come da l'altra banda havemo narrato con un brevicello sotto, che l'uno di tal suono era: *SUPPLICES GENEROSE EXAUDIO.* Et l'altro diceva: *IN SUPERBOS IRAM EXERCEO.* Et molti altri adornamenti che per non esser fastidioso lasso. Questo sopranarrato arco per lo Episcopo Petruccio Castellano del prefato Castro fu ordinato.

Et seguitando la strada el Sanctissimo nostro Leone, avanti la casa del nobil Misser Augustino Chisi Senese era edificato uno memorabile arco di tal forma. Era posto sopra di octo colonne in quadro ad ogni cantone una quadra, et per di dentro una tonda, et faceva di sopra un piano con un architrave fregio et cornice, et in nel fregio dalla banda che riguardava il Castello eran dui versi a lettere di oro di tal tenore: *OLIM HABUIT CYPRIS SUA TEMPORA, TEMPORA MAVORS OLIM HABUIT, SUA NUNC TEMPORA PALLAS HABET.* Et sopra il verso era la cornice et uno Epitaphio che dicea: *LEONI X. PONT. MAX. PACIS RESTITUTORI FELICISSIMO.* Et da ogni banda dello Epitaphio era un tabernaculo cioè mezo nichio ne quali in quello che era da mano dextra vi stava una figura viva, la quale representava Apollo. Et da man sinistra nel altro mezo nichio un'altra figura viva,

che representava Mercurio. Venia sopra questi Tabernaculi, e lo Epitaphio una cornice a uno piano, dove che di sopra alla dextra mano in su lo angulo era di rilievo una statua, che era dal mezo in suso homo, et dalla metà in giù Serpente, et tenea in mano uno oriole a polvere, et da l'altra mano innello angulo era pur di rilievo un Centauro, et sopra uno saltare era posto a sedere un Leone nel mezo del arco: di dentro il palco suo di sopra nel mezo era la insegna del Papa: et da ogni banda quella del prefato Augustino Chisi. Et dalle faccie in ciascuna un quadro bellissimo di diverse materie picto, et sotto li quadri era da ogni banda tre mezi nichi, ne quali in quel di mezo era una Nimpha, et di qua et di la dui Mauri piccoli vivi, si da l'una banda come da l'altra. La Nimpha che era dalla dextra mano con audace faccia recitò alquanti versi. Drento in li quadri, precipue quello che in la man dextra eravi pitto, in fra dui monticelli una donna, la qual cavava la spina del piede ad un Leone: et questa la figuravano per la Virtù, dove poi questa medesima donna era assaltata da molti varii et venenosi serpenti, et pareva quasi che ristretta a perire a tal che il detto Leone con grande impeto quelli assaltava et liberavala da tale insidiatione, et havevane morti parecchi a piedi. Eravi dappoi un Spirito Angelico, che coronava il Leone di tre corone Pontificie. Nel quadro dalla mano sinistra era una donna per la Virtù, la quale havea quattro Vitii da se schacciati: era prostrato in terra, uno in forma di huomo grosso, et havea una mescola in mano, et tre donne che pareva volessino fugire, tra le quale una giovane et bella era con una borsa in mano, et l'altra bellissima che pareva che un braccio tirassi l'altro braccio, et l'altra era una vecchia. Figuravan costoro Gula, Avaritia, Luxuria, et Invidia. Quella che era Virtù era in loco piu elevato che questè altre, et haveva un Leone che lo porgea nel zodiaco alla Vergine, et lei infra se el Cancro lo metteva, vedevasi in questa Zona Gemini el Cancro la Vergine, et parte della Libra, et questo Leone porto dalla Virtù alla Vergine. Di fuori verso la Zeccha era decorato nel medesimo modo che era verso il Castello, ne altra differentia vi si vedea, salva che l'

breve che era nel fregio da questa banda così a lettere di oro era descripto: *VOTA DEUM LEO UT ABSOLVAS HOMINUMQUE SECUNDES, VIVE PIE UT SOLITUS, VIVE DIU UT MERITUS.* Et le figure che erano poste nelli tabernaculi, una rappresentava la Liberalità, et l'altra la Dea Pallas. Et le figure che erano in su li anguli, era una Donna, la quale haveva un freno di cavallo in mano. Et dall'altra banda del arco era un homo con un timone, et molte altre cose, che per non esser proliisso taccio, perche volendo veder tutto, camminare mi bisogna. Basti che Misser Augustino mostrò lo animo suo essere in ogni parte generoso.

Ne mi pare di lasciare indrieto che passato il prenarrato Arco sopra della Bottega di Maestro Antonio da San Marino Orefice, stava una Statua di Venere Marmorea; la quale haveva un verso di sotto a lettere de oro scripte: il quale illudea alquanto quelli de Misser Augustino Chisi: cioè quelli che dicca, *OLIM HABUIT CYPRIS.* Quello che sotto della dicta Venere stava in tal modo risonava; *MARS FUIT, EST PALLAS, CYPRIA SEMPER ERO.* Et di continuo la dicta statua acqua clarissima spargeva.

Non so se'l mio rozo ingegno potra tanto, che narri l'arco, over edifizio facto da nostri Concivî mercanti Fiorentini. Era la intrata di questo ornato edifitio di qua et di la sopra doi pilamidoni una bellissima columna per uno, et ciaschuna il suo pilastro capitello et architrave fregio et cornice. In su la columna a mano dextra era San Pietro con le chiave in mano, et un libro. Da l'altra banda pur sopra di una columna era un S. Paulo, che havea nella man dextra un libro, in l'altra la spada. Questi dui figure erano di rilievo coperte tutte di oro et parevano proprie vive. Dallo architrave di ciascuna columna longo il muro si partiva architrave fregio et cornicione distendendosi insino alla columna del arco. Et da ogni banda erano quattro pilastri con li capitelli. El fregio de jughi et Leoni per insino a li archi questo andito o vogliamo dire portico, era tutto di bellissimi panni di raza parato. Et perche la longezza di un panno benche grandi fussero non servivan a l'altezza, avevano in questo mezo fatto un fregio di brochato a la largheza della

peza, tal che tutto lo apparato pareva una pittura. Hora perche le facce de l'adornamento si se affrontava dui strade come si sa, noi havendo a descrivere primamente parleremo de uno e poi de l'altro; et diremo prima di quello che era in la Via Pontificum, et poi del altra. Et perche la facciata dinanzi era comune ornamento di tutti a dua li archi la descriveremo. Questa facciata era con quattro belle colonne in su li loro pilamidoni che veramente di altro che di bianchissimo marmo non si giudicavano profilate di finissimo oro. Infra li dui archi si se videva da basso, cioè al piano delle colonne tre tabernaculi li quali alla intrata de tutti quattro columnette se li adornava; li dua da li canti sopra le colonne havevan lo architrave fregio et cornicione; sopra del quale si voltava un mezo arco compartito con arte assai ne vacui, in uno era un diamante con tre penne e'l breve, et in l'altro era un jugo pur con uno altro brevicello; quello del mezo solo havea lo architrave et era piu spacioso, perchè li altri dui havevan un mezo nichio per uno, et una figura, et questo dui mezi nichii et dua figure: nel mezo tutte coperte di oro di grandezza alquanto maggiore di huomo naturale si era un Christo nudo, et Sancto Joanni Protector della nostra Cita Florida, che lo battezzava; et ne tabernaculi dalli canti era da l'uno San Cosmo, et dal altro San Damiano. Non mi fu di poca allegrezza veder li Medici sopra li triumphali Archi, perchè pensai noi altri essere favoriti dalli Cieli. Ma poi molto male me ne e riuscito, perche Idio havendo fatto delli Medici el Papa, gli pare allui che noi siamo tutti ricchi; ne gli pare, che sia piu conveniente che nessuno si si amali, che si dia ferite. Et per piu nostro fastidio scaccia el mal francioso di Italia; non so come la andera. Credo bisogniera che el Papa ci faccia tutti Episcopi, a volere potere regerci. Qualche cosa fia, sequitiamo nostro ordine. Sopra la figura del mezo era un breve tenuto da dui Leoni che tenevano i piedi sopra de tabernaculi, et a lettere di finissimo oro in campo azurro tal parole risonava: MIRABILIS DEUS IN SANCTIS SUIS. Et sopra questi una cornicetta et dui altri tabernaculi dove si vedeva in quello da mano dextra un San Lorenzo, et da man sinistra un San Julianò col

Falcone in pugno. Nel mezo infra questi dui tabernaculi era depitto de finissimo lavoro la cena del nostro Signor Jesu Christo con li Apostoli; et poi di sopra, un architrave che sopra tutti a dui li archi se destendea era un fregio bellissimo di colore azzuro, fino nel quale questo verso a lettere di oro vi era posto: **LEO X. PONT. OPT. DE COELO MISSE, GENTILES CIVESQUE SUI MERITO NUMINI EJUS DEVOTI.** Et sopra questo breve era un bellissimo cornicione, dove sopra alli dui summitate delli archi si riposava supra ciascuna una figura a jacere con un corno di dovizia, le quale quella che era sopra l'arco de Via Pontificum havea volto il volto verso banchi, et l'altra dalla Via Florida havea volte le spalle; de drieto a queste figure, et sopra tutto lo apparato che si vedea dinansi, era con bellissime figure picte decorato con certi saltari dove dui candiliera di marmo candidissimo stavano, et in mezo la honorata Arme del Pontifice, et dalle bande che venivano apunto sopra delli archi era un bellissimo giglio roso insegna del populo Fiorentino. Nelli trianguli dello arco che prima vogliano parlare si era la Sibilla Libica, ne l'altro la Sibilla Persicha. Ne pilastri delli colonne era depinto varie fantasie, bronconi, palle, jughi, et diamante. Entrando sotto lo artificioso arco el suo cielo tutto ad otto anguli compartito, nelli quali in quel di mezo era la nobil insegna del Papa, nelli altri varie fantasie erano. Nelle faccie de dentro dello arco stavan dui quadri di degna pictura facti in tal forma; innel uno era uno arboro secco sopravi dui piccholi rami viridi, et sopra questo arbor eran tre putti che se attenevano et attacchavansi meglio che potevano, et allo fusto dello arbore erano tre huomini nidi legati, et da ogni banda era sopra una sedia una donna, la quale haveva dietro alle spalle uno angelo, che li tenea sopra il capo una palla, et una di queste haveva alli piedi tre Re, che tenevano le corone in terra, et stavano genuflexi, et l'altra donna che haveva di molti homini attorno, et un come Sacerdote li mostrava un Leone, et tenea una grilanda in mano. Sopra queste figure erano certe altre figure picchole che giucavano alla palla con quelli putti che erano sopra lo arboro detto. Nel altro quadro pitto vi si vedea

una palla nel cielo infra Cherubini et Seraphini, ed dua Angioli, che una negulata pareva, tenessino questa palla, et sotto questa nugola era figurata una Cita che ardea, et a pie di questa Cita era una donna in sedia con molte donne et homini attorno con palle in mano et a piedi una paniera di palle infra rose et fiori se potea considerare, et cosi stavano le picture de li dui quadri di questo arco. Lo esito dell arco erano dui bellissime colonne sopra li pilamidoni come stava nella banda dinanzi, et nelli trianguli dello arco era pitta da una banda la justitia et da l' altra la forteza, et di sopra lo architrave fregio et cornice. Da questo arco nascea un bellissimo adornamento fatto fare del prudente de ogni liberalita pieno Messer Johanni Zincha Teutonico, patrone della Zeccha della Romana Camera et Sede Apostolica. Nel quale apparato molte diverse et varie cose notande vi si vedea; delle quale ne daremo notitia secondo che 'l nostro debile ingenio saperra. Questo magnifico ornamento nascea di sopra e detto dal arco cioè sopra le colonne nascea lo architrave, cosi il fregio et cornicione, et distendevasi da ogni faccia tanto quanto la onorata casa della Zeccha si destendea, alla fine del quale eran dui belle colonne dove di sopra et sopra la strada passava un architrave un fregio, et una cornice dove stava la triumphante Arme del nostro Signore Leone X. Pont. Max. et dalla man dextra l' arme dello Imperatore, et dalla sinistra quella dil Re d'Ungaria, vedeansi dalla banda di fuore como da quella di dentro, dalla banda di dentro sotto alle arme era scritto tal parole: LEONI X. PONT. MAX. Dal altra di fuora: VIRTUTUM AMATORI. Drento a questo apparato era tutto di panni di raza bellissimi adornato; et sopra un fregio bellissimo de jugi, diamanti, et bronchoni, et quattro Arme del Papa: Sottovi un breve che dicea: FELIX ROMANUM IMPERIUM HOMINUM DEIQUE CONSENSU SAPIENS DOMINATUR VIRTUTIBUS OMNIBUS JANUAM APERIENS. Et ancora vi si vedea octo tondi quattro per lato, con octo fantasiete assai bene ordinate, et sei octanguli tre per banda compartiti con li tondi et framezati de jughi et diamanti, delle qual storie narraremo: etprima delli tondi, et poi delli octo anguli.

Era in nel primo tondo di pictura figurato uno fiume, alla ripa del quale un Pastore havea acceso un gran foco, et con una sua reticella con grande affectione pareva che pescassi, et quanti pesci venenosi et di mala natura pigliava innello acceso foco lo metteva. Et quelli che erano boni nel medesimo fiume li buttava. Et era sotto il tondo un brevicello di tal parole; *NON DESINAM USQUE AD UNUM.*

Nel secundo circulo era picto un putto sopra di uno loco rilevato alquanto, et havea in mano uno breve di tal tenore: *VIRTUS CUNCTIS EMINET.* Et alli piedi havea molti vecchi, li quali lo adoravano con le mano giunte, et le genochia in terra, con un altro motto di sotto che cosi diceva: *CANICIES SINE PRUDENTIA RUDICULUM.*

El tergo tondo vi se vedea una Cita assediata da uno exercito grandissimo di gente de arme et fanteria et artiglieria, come se rechiede a tale exercitio. Et sotto questo era un breve che dicea: *TE PRÆSIDE NIL VEREOR.*

Innel quarto tondo pur di pictura se comprendea un campo pieno di Spine, et molti venenosi animaletti, nel mezzo del quale pareva che con difficultà uscissi un fiorito et bello giglio: et sotto vi era un breve di tal tenore: *NON OBSTITIT INCÆPTO DIFFICULTAS.*

El quinto tondo era decorato sopra de una Sedia pontificalmente un Papa, alli piedi del quale si vedea dui Re li quali genuflexi deposte le Corone in terra lo adoravano, et vedevasi dui Leoni, li quali pareva che li ditti Re lecchassino et facessino loro honore. Et sotto a costoro anchora si vedea dua armati tutti, et ciascuno un feroce Leone che con loro certava. A questa degna consideratione era sospeso un breve che diceva: *PROSTRATIS PLACIDUS, REBELLIBUS FEROX.*

Nel sexto tondo si vedea una Navicella da quattro venti combattuta contrari l' uno al altro: dentro alla quale si vedea un giovane il qual pareva che un suo zufoletto sonassi con tal motto di sotto: *TANTO VENTORUM TURBINE IMMOTA.*

Nel settimo tondo si vedea un fiume che repente caschava da certe foce, et veniva ad un bello piano dove si vedeva molte varie et diverse spetie de animali per natura inimici;

li quali di commune concordia beano tutti a quella acqua, et era appenso a questo circolo un tal breve: **NATURALIS INIMICITIÆ OBLIVIO.**

Innel octavo et ultimo tondo era un fiore del quale usciva una palla, et della palla duo tralci ne usciva, lo uno facea grano bellissimo, et l'altro uva: et queste spiche et uve pereano che coprisse tutta una Palla, in la quale era il mondo figurato, sotto al tondo tal brevicello era suspenso: **AUREÆQUE VITÆ SECLUM.**

Nel primo octangulo si vedea un Papa che tenea un piede sopra la terra et l'altro nel mare, et havea nella man dextra una chiave colla quale apriva el Cielo, et nella sinistra un'altra chiave: et drieto a lui si vedea la nobile Cita Florida elevata in aere, et sotto a questo di tal tenore il breve era: **ELEVATA SUM, QUIA PENES TE PATRIÆ, PARENTUM, MARIS, TERRÆ, CÆLIQUE REGNUM ESSE CONSPICIO.**

Nel secondo si se vedea el Papa che incensava lo altare, in compagnia molti Cardinali et Episcopi con le mitrie in capo, et molti Preti, Fratри, et altri Religiosi, eravi scripto: **TAMQUAM AARON.** Et a pie del octangulo tal breve sospeso: **TU AB EXACTISSIMO CULTU CEREMONIARUM OCULOS NON REMOVES, ET RELIGIONI SUA OBSERVATIO AB OMNIBUS REDDITUR.**

Nel tertio si vedeva la ruota della Fortuna, nella summita sua il Papa, ne altri dalli canti ma la Fortuna, che la rota tenea ferma; et eravi sospeso un breve che in nome de la fortuna tal parole risonava: **IMMOBILIS CONSISTO, QUIA TE SAPIENTEM SAPIENTIUM PROTECTOREM, IN VERTICE SENTIO.**

Era nel quarto sopra un carro triumphale la Maestà dello Imperatore, et il Re di Franzia, et il Re di Spagna, da un'altra parte era il Papa che guardava questo carro con quelli Re che pareano di alerezza pieni triumphassino, et sotto a questo tal breve era scripto: **CUNCTI FIDELES GAUDIUM CELEBRANT, QUIA TU PACIS AC CHARITATIS AMATOR MUNDUM GUBERNAS.**

Drento al quinto si vedea il Papa con li cubiti sopra del altare con le man giunte, et le ginocchia in terra, et drieto a lui haveva molte gente armate, et era scripto nello octan-

gulo: **TAMQUAM MOYSES**, et sotto il detto octangulo un breve era di tal tenore: **TU BENE ATQUE CONSTANTER DIVINÆ POTENTIÆ FAMILIARIS, ET CHRISTIANI NOMINIS INIMICI TIBI CEDENT.**

Nel sexto et ultimo octangulo era il Concilio Lateranense cioè il Papa con tutti li Cardinali et li Imbasciatori, et il Papa a tutti dava la benedictione; di tal tenore sotto a questo era il breve: **TU CONCILIO FINEM IMPONES, AC ECCLESIE REFORMATOR VOCABERIS.**

Passato il degno apparato appresso de monte Giordano davanti una Chiesiola nomata Sancto Angelo in Macerello, era una figuretta non molto grande sopra di un broncone chesi cavava de un pic una spina, del loco della spina acqua clarissima usciva, sopra la figura erano questi tre versi: *Decembre fu al suo natal favore. Aprile al cor li die pena et tormento. Marzo cavato l'a d'ogni dolore.* Seguitando il cammino tutta la strada era parata et coperta di richissimi panni, et in molti lochi Altari adornati de molte argentarie per magnificentia del novo Pontifice. Andavano le voce al cielo di **LEONE LEONE**, et **PALLE PALLE**. Pervenuto appresso alla piazza de parione davanti la casa di Messer Ferrando Ponzetta, della Apostolica Camera Clerico, era un degno arco di tal struttura. Havea questo degno Arco una entrata o vogliamo dire porticho, cioè, sopra dui pilamidon dui colonne, una da ogni banda della strada, sopra delle quale lor architrave, fregio, e cornice. Da una parte stava un Perseo de rilievo con lo scudo in braccio: et in la man dextra teneva una corona de ulivo, sopra de l'altra era uno Apollo che teneva in una mano una corona di lauro, nell'altra una lyra. Di queste colonne et loro architrave fregio et cornice lungo il muro da ogni parte della strada se destendeano insino a l'arco che era in mezzo de dua altre colonne. Nelli spatii del portico alle sue facie in una di quelle era picto in habito Cardineo el Papa in sedia, et pareva che con certi vecchi disputassi, et tutti vincente lui alegro si mostrava. Dal'altra banda si vedea et popule gentile che adoravano un Serpente, et pareva che venissi Moises, et sopra di loro facevi piover Serpenti venenosi.

Et sopra le dui colonne che lo arco tenevano era de rilieuo un Mercurio, che dalla dextra tenea un rufoletto, et dalla sinistra il baculo con li serpenti, et sopra del altra era Diana con l'arco in mano. El fregio che adornava tutto questo arco era pieno di jughi, diamanti, penne et bronchoni. Sopra il fregio et cornicione da questa parte sopra lo arco era uno epitaphio di tal tenore: *SCOLA OMNIUM VIRTUTUM IN ECCLESIA DEI RENATA EST.* Et sopra lo epitaphio era una cornice, disopravi dua bellissimi Leoni, li quali tenevano l'arme della Sanctità de nostro Signore Leone X. Pont. Max. Di dentro allo archio tutto il suo cielo era fatto di rilieuo compartito Palle, Regni, et Chiave, et da ciaschun canto dello arco era un quadro de pictura con figure bellissime, tra le quale in quello da man dextra era un Lauro, el quale oltra il suo piccolo seme, o frutto, producea certe palle in nelle quale in una che nel mezo si vedea aperta, ne usciva un bambino piccolo con le mano giunte, pareva che uno angelo li figurato parlassi, et a piè del verdigiante Lauro si vedeva molti homini et donne giovani et vecchi genuflexi stavano ad adoralo. Nell altro da man stancha era figurato il Papa in habito Cardineo, sopra di una mula, et havea in compagnia soldati, et vedevasi quello gia a canto a una riva de un fiume, dove una piccola barcheta sopra de l'acqua si riposava, et vedevasi in aere sopra l'acqua un angelo che scacciava quelli che con arme in compagnia de lui erano. Dalla parte di fuori verso la piazza de Parione, lo arco senza lo antiporto in un medesimo modo era posto, excepto che sopra una delle colonne era posto una figura di rilieuo, cioè un giovane armato con un scudo in braccio, dentrovi un breve che dicea, *LIBERTAS*; et da l'altra banda una figura di donna che tenea in mano una grillanda di varii fiori, et era vestita tutta de bianco. Et lo epitaphio posto da questa banda dicea: *LEO X. PONT. MAX. OB REM LITTERARIAM RESTITUTAM QUIETEMQ. FUNDATAM.* Et passato il detto arco di qua et di la la strada, et di sopra era apparata di richissimi panni, et cosi in tanto gaudio pervenuto dalla casa dello Episcopo della Valle, era quivi davanti uno arco di laude, degno non per la sublime

fabrica, ma per memoria delli antiqui Romani. Stava in questa forma; dalla banda de nanzi verso Parione da ogni banda del arco un pilamidone, et un pilastro con suo capitello, et sopra di ciaschuno pilamidone era posto uno Phau-no di statura quanto uno homo giusto, di pietra marmorea, et ciaschuno havea sopra della testa una paniera di varii pomi piena, et erano statue antiche di tanta bellezza quanto dir se possino; sopra li capitelli de pilastri era uno architrave, fregio, e cornicione, e sopra la Pontificale insegna; el cielo dello arco era de panni setuasi benissimo, et da l'una delle facce sotto lo arco era un Ganimede, et uno Apollo, et un Baccho statue marmoree antique, et certe teste bellissime pur antique; dal altra banda era una Venere, et un altro Baccho con certe teste pur antique. Dalla parte di fuori verso S. Marco stava como già dalla prenarrata banda, excepto che le statue marmoree che erano sopra i pilamidoni in uno era un Mercurio, et in l'altro un Hercole puro antique, fu existimato bello adornamento solo per la admiratione delle cose antique. Proccedendo allo honorato camino, al cantone della pillicciaria di verdura eravi un arco el quale per due versi che erano nel fregio non ho voluto preterirlo senza narrarli, li quali cosi resonavano.

LEONI X. PONT. MAX. VIRTUTE DUCE COMITE FORTUNA, SALVA EST ROMA, et l' aloro dicea FACTA VIAM INVENERUNT. Cavalchato alquanto da qui per il suo camino davanti alla casa de Messer Evangelista de Rossi nobile patritio Romano, erano tante statue di marmo, Alabastri, et Porfidi, che valeano un thesoro, et per essere antique et belle mi è parso narrarne alquante. Prima vi vidi una Diana de Alabastro che proprio parlar volessi mi pareva, di poi un Neptuneo con el tridente, uno Apollo col cavallo allato assai gratiozo, un Marsia che lieto l' armonia sua sonava una Lato-na con dui piccoli putti in braccio, un Mercurio con acto veloce, un fido Achate, un Bacco lieto, un mirabil Phebo, un vago Narciso, un Plutone, et un Tritolomo, con dui altre statue senza nome, tutte integre antiquissime et belle, con dodeci teste d' Imperatori, et de antiqui et famosi Romani. Sarebbe stato necessario più de uno corso volere

volere contemplare queste. Passato che fu cavalchando de uno in altro adornamento, et de pitture, et de panni volendo ciaschuno mostrare la alegrezza che dentro al core havea, mi pareva quel di ch'el Redemptore della humana natura andò in Hierusalem el di delle palme, et per iscambio de dire Osanna filii Davit, gridavano VIVA PAPA LEONE, et PALLE PALLE; et per cambio de ulivi et palme, veste et panni per le strade si vedea, et cosi cavalchando pervennero alla desiata sede Lateranenese, et quivi fatto le ordinarie cerimonie quale se usano fare alli altri Pontifici, fu lietamente nel Episcopato acceptato. Finite tutte lor cerimonie la sera del medesimo giorno ritornò al suo Palatio Apostolico, per la strada che viene a campo de fiore, con tutti li Cardinali, Episcopi, et Prelati che con lui andorno la matina, ma non con quelli habiti che portorno, cioè Paramenti, ma come alla loro usanza sogliono cavalchare. Et queste strade erano parate de panni et altri ornamenti, como quelle altre donde andò la mattina. Et essendo passato gia la Cancellaria alla casa de Sauli merchanti Genovesi depositarii de Sua Santità, era uno archio da profondo ingenio erecto in questa forma. Erano nella faccia verso la Cancellaria dui pilamidoni, sopra de quali se riposavano per ciascuno, una bellissima columna con sua capitelli tenevano in mezo la entrata del archio, et sopra de capitelli uno Architrave innel quale in mezo al archio era una Arme del Papa con un verso di tal tenore: LEONI X. PONT. MAX. EXOPTATÆ TRANQUILITATIS NOVO SIDERI. Sopra questo architrave era un fregio, a jughi, diamanti et Leoni; et sopra questo uno Epitaphio che in tal modo dicea: NON DE CÆSORUM NUMERO FUSOVE CRUORE; SED DE SPERATA PACE TROPHÆA DAMUS. Era posto sopra delle columnne, el cornicione sopra di due saltaretti dui figure de rilievo che l'uno rapresentava Numa Pompilio et l'altro Antonio Pio, et sopra dello epitaphio una coronice, sopra della quale se riposavano dui Leoni, che teneano una Palla de oro in eare, sotto del archio nel suo celo ad octo anguli compartito, si vedea nel mezo in un octangulo una Arme del Papa, et in dui altri dalli canti in uno era un sacrificio fatto da dui Pastori che amazavano davanti uno

altare un agnello, et in l' altro era un Mutio Scevola, che ancora la mano sopra el fuoco tenea, et innelli altri, varie et diverse fantasie. Lo octangulo del mezo dove era l' arme del Nostro Signore, al passare di esso si levò via, et di quello locho uscì una Palla, la qual se aperse, e eravi dentro un putto, che questi infrascripti versi con audace animo et ilare fronte recitò.

Si fuerat dubium Superis an Regna darentur,
 Ambiguum Princeps Optimus omne levat.
 Nam rebus nemo fessis adhibere salutem,
 Nec melius Medicus sciret habere manus.

Recitato li dicti versi la Palla se ritirò dentro, e l' Arme al luogo suo ritornò; era nelle facce sotto l' archo da ogni banda un quadro de pictura, nell' uno de quali si vedea molti militi, et quelli portavano un candelabro sopravvi molti fuochi. Et innel altro quadro da mano stancha era uno giovane sopra un carro triumphale tirato da dui bellissimi corsieri con molti prigionieri et spoglie de inimici, et militi assai. Di fuori innella parte che risguardava li banchi stava nel medesimo modo che habiamo descripto della faccia verso la Cancellaria, salvo che sopra delle colonne, in una delle quale era pur di rilievo una figura di Fabio Manlio, et sopra l' altra un Scipione Africano, et verso dello Architrave, et quello dello Epitaphio dicea, come quelli che dall' altra banda habiamo scripto. Tale che passato questo archo, la notte cominciò ad apparire, tale che immediate dalle case et apoteche cominciorno a venire numero infinito di torce accense di cera bianca et gialla, talche più de dua millaria numerare se ne potea, et così cavalchando giunse all' altra parte del ricco adornamento fatto fabricare dal soprascritto già Messer Johanni Zincha della Zeccha patrone, el quale si se univa con l' altra parte del archo fatta fare dalli nostri merchanti Fiorentini, et questo è la parte che lassamo della via Florida. Era come dalla via Pontificum dua colonne sopra delle quale era uno Architrave, un fregio con un cornicione sopra del quale come dall' altra banda stava l' arme

del Papa, dello Imperatore, et del Re de Ungaria, et a lettere di oro nel fregio era scritto: LEONI X. PONT. MAX. et le medesime Arme dalla parte di dentro si vedeano, et un verso che dicea, LITERATORUM FAUTORI, questo portico che facea compagnia al archo uno pareva fatto per ornamento di quello, perche da ogni banda se univa con lo Architrave fregio et cornicione del Archo, et era decorato con panni de ~~rosa~~, et haveva da ogni banda un tondo et dui ottangoli con pittura secondo che descriveremo. Dalla man dextra era in un tondo el Papa in un studio sopra di una cathedra; pareva che studiassi, et a questo tondo si li pendeva un breve di tal tenore; STUDIO VACANS. Nelli ottanguli che tenevano in mezo questo tondo eran le septe Arte liberale; in uno era Gramaticha, Logicha, et Rectoricha, et sottovi un breve cosi descripto: NON PAUPERES ATQUE NUDÆ ERIMUS AMPLIUS, TU ENIM QUI NOS COLIS DOMINUS FACTUS ES ORBIS. Innel altro era Aritmeticha, Musicha, Geometria, et Astro nomia, et a questo tal breve sottovi era: MULTOS HABEMUS COMITES, CUM DOMINUS OMNIUM NOSTER SIT COMES. Dal altra parte in mezo de dui octanguli era dipinto il Papa, che pigliava denari de un vaso che li era porto, et davali a uno artifice mechanico, e sotto era tal brevicello: PECUNIAS EXPONAS. Nelli octo anguli erano le mechaniche arte picte, erano in uno il Lanificho, et la arte Fabrile, et uno Navigante, et di sotto tal breve attachatovi era: JACENTES ATQUE INERTES NON ERIMUS, DEINCEPS QUAM LARGITATEM TUAM CERNIMUS. Innel altro octangulo era Agricultura, la Venatione, et la Medicina; sottovi un tal breve: AUREA ERIS ROMA, QUIA OMNES ARTES SUUM EXERCENT OFFITIUM. Erano tramerati i tondi dalli octanguli con diamanti, penne, jughi, bronconi, et Leoni. Passata la dicta consideratione si trovava sopra dui pilamidoni dui columnne, le quale teneano in mezo lo archo del qual debiam parlare con loro pilastri, architrave, fregio, et cornice, et innelli trianguli del Archo era in uno la victoria adormentata, et in l'altro era uno Angelo con una palma in mano con una grillanda che pareva che la destassi, et intrando sotto l'archo nel suo cielo compartito ad octanguli, era in quello che venia in mezo la or-

nata Armè del Pontefice, et in quattro altri atorno era in uno la Fede, in l' altro la Speranza, in l' altro la Charità, in l' altro la Prudentia. Ne e di maraviglia alcuna se la maggior parte delli compartimenti delle cose sonó state tutte fatte, o a tondi o octanguli, li tondi figurati Palle, e li octanguli per octo undeci notabili si trovano innella Sanctita di nostro Signore, li quali, lassando li millesimi sono questi. La sua nativita a di xi. di Dicembre el di di Sancto Damaso Papa, et a di xi. di Marzo (la vigilia di S. Gregorio Papa) da Innocentio VIII. fu fatto Cardinale. Et el di della dedicatione del Salvatore, a di nove di Novembre, per popolare movimento li sua cari Germani, della inclita Cita di Fiorenza si partirno, et lui dal distretto, el di de Sancto Martino a di xi. del sopradetto mese si se alontano. Et a di xi. de Aprile lungo tempo da poi (essendo da Julio II. Pont. Max. fatto Legato di Bologna per quella alla chiesa ridurre sendo con lo Hoste Spano a Ravenna) fu fatto prigione delle gente Francesche. Et el di de Sancto Barnaba Apostolo, del mese di Giugno, per divino ajuto di Dio piu che mondana opera acioche quello fussi suo vicario lo libero. Et a di xi. di Septembre della nativa sua Cita Florida con gran pompa e gloria reintrò. Et a di xi. de Marzo fu publicato Pontifice. Et a di xi. de Aprile fu questa sua solenne coronatione. Mirabile certamente in mesi undeci liberato do Galli, tornato alla desiata patria, et creato Pontifice Max. Et pero uno mio commendate sotio li infrascripti versi compose, et in lo narrato Archo decoro.

Undecima eduxit LEONEM lux candida in orbem.

Et patribus sacris addidit Undecima.

Undecima existi patriæ confinibus exul.

Hostibus es sævis captus in Undecima.

Undecima exolvit nexus et Gallica vincla.

Nativas sedes reddidit Undecima.

Undecima e vatis Pastorem Curia solum

Te legit, et regnum firmat in Undecima.

Undecimum Vates numerum celebrate quotannis.

Carminibus cultis lux sonet Undecima.

Per tornare al nostro archio, era da ogni canto un quadro di pittura, in l' uno delli quali si vedevano certi homini che havevano serpenti venenosi in mano, et dua, giovane Donne a cavallo, con Arme inastate le quale assaltavano et amazzavano li serpenti, et delli homini quali per terra morti, et quali in fuga si metevano. Et drieto a queste era dua donne a pie che dua trombe pareva sonassino. Nascea nel mezo di questo quadro un bellissimo Broncone elevato in aere, et sopra la Dea della Justitia con la bilancia in mano senza spada, vedeasi sopra certi pogetti da ciascuna banda homini et donne che tutte stavano in acto ammirativo. Innel altro quadro si vedea di pittura molti Astrologi con li loro libri, e astrolabii, et sphere, ma dormivano, et eravi tre infantuli con Palle in mano, pareva che giuchassino, et sopra questi putti era pitto un pilamidone, sopravi una columna con un Idolo in la sumitate che haveva dua Leoni a piedi; sopra el capitello della columna, et in sul piano del pilamidone eran picte due donne con dui baculetti in mano, et un Gallo che becchava sopra il pie di una delle donne, et l' una di quelle li tenea il baculetta sopra il collo, et l' altra che mesta pareva a sedere el becco li percoteva, et era da ogni banda intorno a questo Idolo homini et donne pur in acti ammirativi, altro non era da considerare nel narrato archio. Passato il Papa con infiniti lumi ripassò l' archio de Augustino Chisi, et dal Castiliano, con suoni et tonitru di artiglieria quanto dire si puo, et cosi allegramente nel Borgo retornato, passato, lo adornamento di Cecchotto nel suo Apostolico Palatio rientrò; et cosi licentiati li Cardinali della Sacra Chiesa, et tutti li altri Prelati ciaschuno tornò alle loro habitatione et con fuochi et altri segni di alegreza si mostrò lieto in tutta quella notte, in festa, suoni et canti. Et a me nel considerare le vedute Pompe et alte Magnificentie, me crede una volunta del Pontificale grado, che la notte mai possetti dormire senza ripossarmi. Tal che piu non me maraviglio che questi Prelati tanto desiderino tale dignità. Perche io non credo che sia alcuno servitore che non volessi piu presto se Papa che il Patrone. Et per la fissa mia imaginatione a tale dignita, ponendomi a scriver, havendo la memoria debile, ades-

so che al fine della opera sono venuto, cognoscho havere lassato di dar notitia di molti nomi di Signori, Merchanti, et Parenti, et Amici del prefato Pontifice che alla cavalcao si trovorno. Priego la loro humanità vogliono perdonarmi, offerendomi a quelli che vi veranno a non minore gloria di Papa Leone ricordargli. Preghino Dio che li dia tanta vita che li Cardinali se troverano alle morte sua lo vegino vechio, perche non mancharà materia alli Scriptori. Et cosi a quelli che nella cavalchata si ricordano, priego che per me preghino la Sanctità del N. S. Papa Leone, et sua Consorti et Amici, che questa calamitosa poverta, non mi habia piu ad angustiare tanto, quanto l'a fatto insino adesso. Et voi unica mia Patrona observandissima, scorta et mediatrice alli mia desiderii, humilissimamente con tutte le forze del cor mio mi vi racomando. Cognosco che questa storia vorrebbe essere stata decorata con altro parlare che 'l mio rusticano, et con altri vocabuli piu limati, per la brevità del tempo et el mio poco ingegno non estato abastanza tanta opera. Acceptorate in quella la mia buona affectione verso V. S. alla quale di nuovo mi racommando.

VALETE ET PLAUDITE.

IDEM MAGISTER JOANNES JACOBUS DE PENNIS
MEDICUS FLORENTINUS
Faciebat.

No. LXXI.

(Page 185.)

Exempl. in Biblioth. Vatican.

Janus Vitalis Castalius Doctissimo Pierio Valeriano S.D.

ME quoque cultissime Pieri, Sanctissimi LEONIS X. Pont. Opt. Max. Electio una cum omnium, et deorum et hominum lætitia, maximo gaudio medullitus affecit. Quocirca non potui in tanta Vatum hilaritate non aliquod exultationis signum pro viribus præstare, quantum videlicet nostris ju-

venilibus lucubrationibus fieri potuit. Quod si aliquid calamo dignum inerit, acerbis adhuc annis, temporis inopiæ, ac nimiae lætitiæ attribuas obsecro. Ne verò expectes a me artem ullam quam a vestri generis grege in primis expeti non sum nescius. Tanto enim, et tam commune omnium gaudio confusus, nullum ordinem servare potui. Tu igitur (nam tibi nuncupantur) hæc qualiacumque sint ingenioli mei monumenta (ut benignus es) accipe. Quæ si aliqua ex parte laudabuntur, certe quod tanto viro sint accepta, censeri poterunt. Proinde spero te duce me ad majora progressurum.

VALE Aonidum levamen.

Datum Roma iii. Id. April. M. D. XIII.

Janus Vitalis Castalius LEONEM X. P. M. Lateranen. Episcopatum ingredientem lætabundus admiratur.

JAM novus in terras alto descendit Olympo
 Jupiter, et sancto lætatur martia vultu
 Roma, triumphales iterim ductura quadrigas.
 Sed tamen armorum cedat furor, impia cedant
 Prælia Mavortis, si quidem revocamur ad illa
 Secula, Cumæis præcognita vocibus aurea,
 Secula, queis nunquam majus sonuere Poetæ
 Ausonii: patribus assurgit Romula Thuscis
 Pompa: genusque suum, et veteres agnoscit honores,
 Unde urbem, proceresque auxit, gentemque togatam.
 Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.
 Felicem patriam! felices Principe tanto.
 Hunc populum! hosque patres! felicia mænia Romæ!
 Felicem Italiam! et terrarum quicquid ubique est!
 Nam quæ monstra prius totum furibunda per orbem
 Irruerant, cædes, incommoda, damna, rapinas,
 Omnibus intulerant, mansueti hac fronte Leonis,
 Territa cesserunt, atque exanimata repente
 Proripuerunt fugam, in Stygium raptata Baratrum.
 Quique prius morbi ingruebant mortalibus aegris
 Luce Leonini pelluntur Apollinis alma:

Datque salutiferos passim Medicina liquores,
 Non Aloe tristis, non succis improba amaris :
 Dulcior Ambrosia sed enim est ac nectare dulci.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.
 Ipsum hunc namque tui poscebant jure quirites ;
 Ipsum hunc Italia, et terrarum quicquid ubique est,
 Non ausi sperare unquam tam grandia dona,
 Quæ videre prius quam spes foret ulla petendi.
 Qualis ubi ad gelidos fontes, laticesque sonantes,
 Improvisus adest, praeda lassatus, et arcu,
 Venator liquidis rabiem positurus in undis.
 Ergo agite, atque focos, et lumina festa per urbem,
 Læti incendamus, lectosque crememus odores :
 Cuncta sonent cantu, vincantur lumine noctes ;
 Stellarum passim radiosque, facesque micantes,
 Æthera per tractusque poli jaculemur ovantes ;
 Atque omni sonet ore Leo, Leo cantibus unus
 Emodulandus adest. Leo sit vox omnibus una.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis :
 Non hunc terra tulit, non hunc genuere parentes
 Mortali de gente sati, descendit Olympo
 Tale genus, licet humana sub veste videre
 Immortale bonum, sanctum, et venerabile numen.
 Te regnante cadent fraudes, neque non mala mentis
 Gaudia : simplicitas imprimis pura vigebit.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.
 Non opus est armis, nutu superabitur hostis,
 Si quis erit : sed quis tam barbarus, atque malignus,
 Ut contra ire paret? non Maurus et accola Syrtis,
 Non Babylon, non Persa ferox, non dira furentum
 Pectora Turcarum valeant sævire, nec iras
 In te acres movisse unquam, licet improba cunctos
 Vexet avaritia, atque pii sitibunda cruoris
 Gens rabiât, queratque Italos populare penates.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.
 Qui si unquam fors tale nefas tentare parabunt,
 Sunt animi, atque viri, et congesta pecunia, et auri,
 Argentique ingens pondus, sunt arma, ducesque,

Magnanimusque Leo, imprimis quem diligit ipse,
Ipse Deus, Deus ipse. Leo tibi vincula, Turce,
Exitiumque feret; jam nostra excedere terra
Bizantique oris meditare, et linquere pontum.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

Thracia debetur nobis, spatiosa Propontis
Nostra fuit, nostrisque venit nunc obvia regnis.
Tuque Asia ampla, tuos ritus antiquaque sacra
Jamdudum aspicias, pietas est tanta Leonis.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

Nunc erit in pretio virtus, nunc digna labori
Proemia, et ingenuis nunc artibus ampla parantur
Munera: quid resides animi torpetis? ab alto
Jamdudum somno consurgite, Concitat omnes
Nunc Leo: sat vitiis, sat foede, et turpiter ausis
Indultum: nunc regna sibi tenet unica Virtus.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

O tandem, O longo post tempore secula nobis
Aurea nascentur; nullo poscente colono,
Matris Eleusinæ fruges, et palmite pleno,
Decerpet dulces uvas, et dona Lyæi;
Mella dabunt sentes, sudabunt robora Amomum.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

O felix patriæ dominus, nunc urbis, et orbis;
Quæ tam, quæ fausta, et felix concordia cætus,
Cardinei, studiis qui tam concordibus unum
Te juvenem patribus cunctis, tantoque senatu,
Preposuere: ultroque tibi dixere, jubetis:
Rex tu noster eris: tali tu stemmate dignus.

Roma tuum meritis Decimum venerare triumphis.

Sancte Pater, hominum reverentia, cura deorum,
Spes miserum, lux clara hominum: decus atque deorum,
Aspice nos: felixque pias ne desere Musas.
Solutus ab Aoniis semper cantande Camœnis.
Tu vero, Pater alme hominum, Pater alme deorum,
Sydera qui tractusque maris, terrasque jacentes
Arbitrio regis immenso, et mortalia secla
Sponte tua reficis, truncas, multosque per annos,

Producis, nec fata tibi ullam imponere legem
Audent, his hominum precibus moveare precantum :
Dum sic intenti spectant placida ora Leonis,
Longos esse dies Decimo, multosque per annos
Da Decimo prodesse ægris mortalibus, atque
(Quod cupit) humanum genus instaurare medela ;
Quam tulit, e summo per te demissus Olympo.

FELICITER.

Mariangelus Accursius.

Cui nova Semiferi tetrica sub arundine fama
Contigit, ore novo dum canit ad Cytharam :
Mirantur Miniae juvenem preclara moventem,
Orphea majorem qui prius audierant.
Hic quoque quod juvenis, quod nomina clara Leonis,
Ore novo exultat, læta per arva lyra ;
Quis non quod tetrica modulatur arundine Carmen,
Miratus dicat, spem fore Roma tuam ?

Franciscus Aquila Beneventanus.

Cervice inflexa celestis claviger aulæ,
Qui vidit Eoas, Hesperiasque plagas :
Templa dedit Latio, et primum celestibus aras,
Instituitque sacris thura Sabea focis.
Castalii Vates hic Janus janitor antri,
Atque Hyppocrenis nectar ab inde ferens
Pontificis primum canit iste Leonis honores :
Quo cingat meritum terna corona caput.
Si qua parte huc usque cavæ viguere tenebræ :
Obscurum lustrat nunc Cynosura locum.

No. LXXII.

(Page 193.)

*Guidi Postumi Silvestri Eleg. lib. i. p. 4.*AD MANES ALEXANDRI ET JULII PONT. DE LEONE X. P.
OPT. MAXIMO.

IMMITES Sexti manes, manesque Secundi,
Dira quibus cordi prælia semper erant,
Per quorum gladios, et adhuc Latium ossibus albet,
Quin matrum gemitus nunc quoque ferre grave est :
Audistisne precor quo successore, renata est,
Ipsa sibi a vestro terra recepta metu ?
Audistis reor, ac magni decora alta Leonis
Vobis perpetui vulneris instar erunt.
Quot rogo nunc animas istuc tranare videtis,
Quas ferri abstulerit ambitiosus Amor ?
Imperjuratæ requievit portitor undæ,
Scilicet, atque suum nunc leve sentit onus.
Iste Deus noster sccleri dedit ocia vestro,
Supremam bellis imposuitque manum ;
Quasque coegistis rixarum et cædis in usus,
Ingeniis meritas usque refundit opes.
Sæcla deditque, annis non visa prioribus, heu quæ
Sospitibus vobis ferrea semper erant.
Christe potens rerum, tuque illius innuba Mater,
Quæ Capitolini verticis alta tenes,
Et Vaticanæ pater ac vetus accola rupis
Petre, Palæstino proxima cura Jovi,
Diique Deæque omnes, quibus esse vel infima cordi,
Nunc Leo, qui vestro est de grege, signa dedit,
Ne revoke precor stellis, sed perstet in ævum,
Cernitis hoc mundi quod superesse caput,
Sunt modo apud superos tot millia multa piorum,
Hoc sinite oro homines numen habere suum,
Vobiscum est Janus, vobiscum mater Elissa,
Vobiscum est Hiero qui triplici ore tonet,

Vobiscum est vestræ Paulus tutela coronæ,
 Proque polis, stricto stat ferus ense pater.
 Sit qui vos doceat cœlo imperitare sereno,
 Nec vana populos credulitate capi,
 Sit quoque divitiis qui nesciat orbis abuti,
 Sed bene partitas cum Jove servet opes.
 Sit quo confugiat rectum, probitasque fidesque,
 Qui grave quondam alio sub duce crimen erant.
 Quod si unquam hunc, cœlum nobis inviderit olim,
 (Quanquam etiam Pylios vixerit ante dies)
 Aut tunc rectorem nullum dominumque feremus,
 Flebilis et nullo præside mundus erit,
 Aut vestrum huc aliquem flendo eliciemus ab astris,
 Assueti vestro de grege habere ducem.

No. LXXIII.

(Page 195.)

Bemb. Ep. Pont. lib. i. Ep. 18.

JULIANO MEDICI FRATRI, FLORENTIAM.

Ex tuis ^lliteris intellexi, te a Legato istius reipub. atque tuo, qui apud Ludovicum Regem Gallorum est, certiorum esse factum, de summi Pontificis munere mihi credito Regem illum magnam lætitiā cepisse, deque me multa gravissimis amantissimisque verbis fuisse loquutum. Quæque idem Rex de te cum illo egerit summa cum tua dignitate & illustri testificatione amoris erga te sui, quantumque tibi tribuerit, libentissime cognovi. Jucunda etiam mihi fuit voluntas, quam præ te fers, gratum te ei atque memorem illius in te benevolentiae ostendendi: rationesque tuæ, quibus me de tractanda pace uti cogitem hortaris, multæ illæ quidem prudenterque collectæ, mihi magnopere probantur. Quibus de rebus omnibus hoc te primum scire volo, nullam me ad rem tam pronom tamque propensum esse, quam ad omnium Christianorum Principum animos sanctissimis concordiae vinculis colligandos, inter seque conglutinandos: nihil plane

tam cupuere, quam pacem. Quam quidem si pacem omni tempore humiliorique in fortuna summopere concupivi, cujus tu meæ voluntatis optimus atque locupletissimus esse testis potes: certe nunc Pontifex Maximus, cum Christi vicarium gero, qui pacis fons atque autor pacem hominibus diligentissime commendavit, multo magis eam velle, multo curare impensius debeo. Neque mea a memoria excidit, quantum Rex te amaverit, cum in Galliam turbulentis illis nostris temporibus te contulisses, quove loco apud se habuerit: quanta semper etiam in Gallorum reges cum patriæ, tum familiæ in primis nostræ observantia extiterit: in qua manere te, modo cum dignitate fiat, non solum volumus, sed etiam optamus. Eorundem Regum quanta fuerint in rem Romanam merita, quanta hujus ipsius, non sum oblitus. Ipse quoque, si per illum non steterit, omnia ei paterna officia, ita sum præstaturus, ut quæ tu, quæ familia nostra reliqua illi debet, etiam persolvere videamur voluisse. Quod si, ut scribis, ejus animus ea quæ recta sunt cogitat, facile & ipsi inter nos conveniemus, & tu, quæ vis hac in re, quæque optas, assequere, tuamque apud me authoritatem, tuas cohortationes plurimum valuisse cognosces. Unum illud cogitare te est æquissimum, ut quoniam Rex te internuncio uti apud nos voluit, non tu illum minus ad bene de nobis merendum tuis literis excites, quam me ad illum amantissime complectendum es cohortatus. Extremum est, de quo te Regem certiores facere plane volo, ut intelligas me datum operam, ut illum de pontificatu meo gavisum fuisse, numquam pœniteat: præsertim si æquas atque honestas, hoc est, cum hujus reipub. majestate conjunctas pacis conditiones proponet. Datis prid. Cal. April. M. D. XIII. Anno. primo. Roma.

No. LXXIV.

(Page 196.)

Sadoleti Ep. Pont. No. 10, Rom. 1759.

REGI FRANCORUM.

DILECTE Fili. Postquam nobis renuntiatum fuit, dilectum filium Bartholomæum de Alviano, quem antea Majestas tua sub diuturna custodia retinuerat, a te propemodum restitutum esse in libertatem, latioresque illi, & liberiores fines ad vagandum esse concessos; quamquam illi forti viro, nobisque multis rationibus conjuncto, omnia semper optavimus, quæ illius commodum honestatemque attingerent, tamen in hoc tuo facto, non minus in gerendo modus, quam ipsa res gesta nobis lætitiæ ac jucunditati fuit. Sic enim ad nos fuit allatum; te, cum ultro admonente nemine, illius liberandi mentem induxisses, tum addidisse, nostra præsertim causa te & sedulo, & libenter id facere; ut quem nobis gratum esse intelligeres, omni indignitate custodiæ liberares. Hæc tua singularis, & regia liberalitas a nobis intellecta, facile declaravit cum magnitudinem animi tui, tum erga nos optimam voluntatem, quorum alterum commendatione atque laude, alterum grata tanti officii memoria prosequimur. Quod si ii sumus, qui quidem esse cupimus; ut imitatione Salvatoris nostri nihil majoris æstimemus, quam bonam voluntatem, potes existimare, nos tuum hoc non mediocre munus, non solum hominis nobis cari, atque grati nostra causa liberati, sed multo magis animi tui adversum nos in optimam partem spectati & cogniti, pari aliquando munere, cum Dominus dederit, repensuros. Illud quidem interea Majestati tuæ significandum duximus, hoc tuum beneficium in hominem esse collatum dignum tua omni humanitate, non modo propter virtutem, & fortitudinem, verum etiam propter fidem atque constantiam. Quacumque enim tibi conditione fidem suam obstrinxerit, in ea eum certe confidimus perman-surum esse. Datum Romæ anno primo.

SADOLETUS.

No. LXXV.

(Page 198.)

Sadoleti Ep. Pontif. No. 11, Ed. Romæ 1759.

LUDOVICO FRANCORUM REGI.

DILECTE Fili. Ex eis litteris, quas Julianus de Medicis noster secundum carnem germanus ab Oratore Florentinorum, qui apud Majestatem tuam Legati officio fungitur, ad se scriptas nobis misit, intelleximus id, quod nobis maximæ lætitiæ ac jucunditati fuit, inducias inter te, & carissimos filios nostros Ferdinandum Aragoniæ, & Siciliæ Regem Catholicum ad annum factas, in quibus Massimilianus electus Romanorum Imperator, & Henricus Angliæ, & Jacobus Scotorum Reges, alique nonnulli Principes comprehenderentur, pactaque ac capitula, quæ inter vos convenissent, ad nos missa studiose legimus. In quibus illud optimum, & sanctissimum exordium (vos scilicet idcirco laborare, ut, ad unitatem Christiani nominis conficiendam, sanguinisque fidelium nimis diu, ac largiter effusi rationem habendam, perfidosque Turcas comprimendos, ut sepulchrum Domini nostri Jesu Christi aliquando ex impiis infidelium manibus eripiat,ur, viam nobis, atque aditum aperiatis) nostrum animum ita affectit, ut sublatis continuo in cœlum manibus Deo omnipotenti gratias infinitas ageremus, qui diuturnas Christianorum inter se discordias, & dissensiones, in viam aliquando speratæ atque exoptatæ pacis perduceret. Itaque in tantam spem venimus concordiaæ universalis constituendæ, ut vix gaudii nostri atque lætitiæ modum inveniremus. Nam, si, dum in minoribus essemus, quantum potuimus semper, non solum consilio atque sententia, sed votis precibusque institimus, ut arma inter Fideles Principes ponerentur, adversus impios sumerentur; postquam illius providentia sine cujus nutu, ne folium quidem in arbore moveri credimus, in hunc altissimum gradum sumus evecti, quid nos agere, aut quantum hujus rei causa laborare oportet, non solum nostro perpetuo judicio ac desiderio accensos, sed etiam Dei ipsius

maximo beneficio obligatos? Hanc tamen, ut vere fateamur, spem nostram, lætitiāque conceptam, illud imminuit, quod sequebatur, Majestatem eandem tuam a domesticis periculis vacuam tandem & liberam, conversuram arma ad Italiam, suumque jus, ita enim scribitur, in suis rebus ablatiis, bello recuperandis persecuturam, neque existimaturam in eo, aut cuiquam injuriam, aut nobis molestiam aliquam posse inferri. Denique (ea enim aliquantum a supradicto capitulorum exordio discrepabant) non omnino Majestas tua velle arma deponere, sed potius transferre videbatur, ut cum una ex parte, otio & quieti tuæ prospexisses, libentius altero bello indulgeres. Sed per summi Dei bonitatem & erga te beneficentiam, qui tibi tantum potentiæ et dignitatis tribuit, ut populo suo fideli defendendo, ac conservando esset aptior; confer te parumper in eam curam, & cogitationem, ut intelligas, si arma tibi tantopere placeant, longe honoratiorem & gloriosiore militiam a te expectari. Nam in rebus quidem Italiæ, si quemadmodum credimus, a jure, & æquitate discedere non cogitas, quanto facilius ratio atque explicatio ad tuum jus perveniendi, per viam tractatus, & honorificæ compositionis proponitur; in qua nos utilitatem, & commoditatem tuam non modo adjuvare, sed omni nostro studio, quantum cum Domino & justitia poterimus, procurare sumus parati: neque id solum commodo, sed honori etiam tuo atque existimationi vehementer consulere: per vim vero, atque arma rem velle gerere, tumultusque denuo maximos concitare non solum a Dei voluntate alienum longe esse, sed etiam ab optimi Regis dignitate. Ac nos quidem, quoniam in memoria versantur ea, quæ tot annos continuos magno cum dolore vidimus, misera, & calamitosa detrimenta Italiæ, nihil mirum est, si & pro pastoralis officio, quod sustinemus, & pro amore patriæ, cui tanquam homines, & non ingrati alumni affecti sumus, metu impendentium malorum commovemur. Vidimus enim, nec commemorare possumus sine dolore, maximas sæpe cædes, atque strages Christianorum fieri, virginibusque, & matronis nefariam vim inferri, urbes non paucas prædæ gladiisque subijci, templa Deo immortali consecrata, sanguine & acerbissimis rapinis violari

quæ talia, & tam acerba qui perpassi sunt, perpetuum mœrorem, qui vero egerunt, brevem adepti sunt lætitiā. Atque hæc si iterum expectanda, & perpetienda essent, quæ armis rursum commotis, instare, & imminere necesse esset, sane miseram, & calamitatibus nimium addictam existimarem esse Italiam, quæ cum propter nobilitatem, & principem inter omnes nationes Imperii ac veræ Religionis gloriam, immunis omnium malorum esse deberet; tantis ultra cladibus, & calamitatibus est afflicta, ut nihil addi ad deteriorem conditionem posse videatur. Quare iis omnibus rebus adducti, & quæ dictat nobisque inspirat maximus auctor pacis, & charitatis Deus, tibi quoque persuadere cupientes, Majestatem tuam quanto possumus studio, per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri adhortamur, & enixe oramus, ut suum Christianissimum nomen cogitet, velitque sua in Deum pietate, nostraque erga ipsum benevola & propensa voluntate, imitari illum summum Regem, qui se inter cetera nomina pacificum appellari voluit; armisque omissis sibi periculosus, Italiæ perniciosus, legitimam juris, & honestissimam compositionis viam persequi: in qua nos illi non modo æquitatem nostram, si eam requisierit, sed etiam benevolentiam paratam fore promittimus, ut intestinis inimiciis dimissis, ea consilia quæ inchoata sunt omnino communis concordiae conciliandæ, sanctissimique in crudelissimos Christi hostes belli suscipiendi ad debitum, & optatum finem perducantur. Quibus nostris paternis, & amantissimis monitis si Majestas tua animum adhibuerit, cum ceteris quoque Principibus agere non cessabimus, ut hujusmodi optatæ pacis societate, non solum Italia, sed omnes, quæ ubique crucem Christi agnoscunt gentes nationesque conjungantur. Datum Romæ anno primo.

SADOLETUS.

No. LXXVI.

(Page 199.)

Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. i. Ep. 23.

HENRICO REGI BRITANNIÆ.

ET si ea, quæ de tua religione atque in hanc rempub. nosque ipsos propensa præstantique voluntate, deque tuis plurimis egregiisque virtutibus Episcopus Wigorniensis Legatus tuus quotidie commemorat, mihi per se gratissima jucundissimæque sunt, tamen illa ipsa gratiora etiam & jucundiora efficit ejusdem oratoris probitas, prudentia, virtus, atque is, quo illum amplexus magnopere sum, amor charitasque mea prope singularis. Itaque cum de eo, quæ volo, quæque de Rege præstantissimo magnæque spei adolescente possunt dici libenter exaudio, tum propterea quod ab homine nobis amicissimo & virtute prædito tuæ virtutes prædicantur, uberiores ea res nostram eam voluptatem facit. Spem enim capio fore, ut quoniam animi tui magnitudinem atque præstantiam, cum egregia in Deum Opt. Max. pietate et in Romanos Pontifices observantia maxime conjunctam & consociatam esse intelligo, & tu de tuis virtutibus uberrimos jucundissimosque fructus, & Christiana respub. de te magnos proventus, egregia incrementa, illustres utilitates sit perceptura. Quam te in cogitationem incumbere noctes atque dies decet, ut in ista adolescentia florentique tua ætate, ea fundamenta jacias virtutis & probitatis tuæ, quibus reliqua ætas omnis egregie præclareque nitatur. Quod erit, si in hujus Pontificatus observantia non modo permanebis, sed etiam in dies singulos magis magisque te accendes ad ejus dignitatem, majestatem, gloriam & tuendam, & augendam. Id cum, ut spero, ipse feceris, curabo profecto ego, cni- tarque ut ea tibi a me ornamenta proficiscantur, quibus lætari facile possis te ejusmodi cogitationes suscepisse. Hæc autem, atque his longe plura, deque mea non solum spe, sed etiam erga te mente, quamquam multa cum oratore tuo ege-

rim, in meas tamen etiam ad te literas partem eorum aliquam facile conjeci, ut tibi ipse omnia de me paterna officia polliceri uberius, & cumulatus posses. Reliquum est ut intelligas, eundem ipsum oratorem tuum, quem tum etiam, cum fortuna leviori nitebamur, unice semper-dileximus, nunc, quia is egregiam tibi singularemque operam præstat, a nobis etiam impensius amari; ejus enim & prudentiam atque agendis rebus probitatem cognitam perspectamque habuimus jam inde ab illis temporibus cum is viri clarissimi Patris tui istiusque Regni res negotiaque procurabat summa atque mirifica diligentia: & postea ex adversis ejus turbulentisque rebus, quæ sunt illa tempora consequutæ, magnam molestiam cepimus: utque hominis plane probi & nobis amicissimi ægre molesteque tulimus illam calamitatem. Quas ob res atque causas omneis cum eum tibi esse charissimum existimem, illud magnopere cupio, ut mea commendatione tibi sit etiam charior, omnibusque in rebus, quæ ad ejus dignitatem pertinebunt, quibus in rebus ei aspirare provehereque illum possit aura studii & favoris tui, quæ quidem res erunt semper plurimæ atque maximæ, & fidem illius erga te, & meam in illum benevolentiam charitatemque recordere. Dat tertio Non. April. M. D. XIII. Roma.

No. LXXVII.

(Page 207.)

Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. iv. Ep. 1.

HELVETHIS, LIBERTATIS ECCLESIASTICÆ
DEFENSORIBUS, FÆDERATIS NOSTRIS.

EQUIDEM cum in ea victoria, quam superioribus diebus maximam estis atque clarissimam consequuti, unum illud vel pro naturæ meæ sensu & lenitate, vel pro credito mihi communis Parentis atque Pontificis munere doluerim, tantum scilicet humani sanguinis effusum esse, tantam Christianorum hominum manum tamque fortem cecidisse: valde tamen

vehementerque lætor, vos, qui Ecclesiæ Romanæ libertatem defendendam tuendamque suscepistis, vestros & ejusdem libertatis hostes fugavisse, propeque delevisse. Qua ex re magna vos gloria magnæque utilitates sunt subsequutæ. Neque enim minorem ex vestris commodis, honoribus, incrementis, voluptatem capio, quam par est Patrem capere in optimorum & charissimorum filiorum prosperis felicibusque rebus. Illud etiam me voluptate magnopere afficit, quod qui legitimam Dei sponsam vexare, non sutilemque Christi tunicam scindere sunt aggressi, quos quidem, antequam in eam cõgitationem atque scelus animum induxissent, omnium rerum gloria florere videbamus, ut primum se malis conatibus dediderunt, infeceruntque schismaticis pravitatibus, execrationumque Julianarum justissimis vocibus tacti percussique sunt, statim illis amare omnia infeliciterque ceciderunt : partaque ab ipsis gloria simul cum Regno, ad eos qui aut Ecclesiæ Romanæ parent, aut eam tuentur, facile transiit. Quibus de rebus omnibus ago maximas Immortali Optimoque Deo gratias, agamque dum vivam, qui abalienatos a se, desciscentesque respuit ; suos, aut jacentes sublevat, aut stantes non deserit. Vos autem, quos idem Deus suæ voluntatis esse ministros voluit, charissimos animoque meo sensibus omnibus plane habeo conjunctissimos. Neque vos moveant improborum voces, quæ, ut intelligo, jactantur temere illæ quidem atque injuste, nos reliquosque fœderatos nostros compositis & pacatis rebus, vestrum præterea nomen vestramque benevolentiam non curaturos. Nam me quidem ab eo fœdere, quod mihi vobiscum est, quoad vos non pœnitebit, nihil profecto abducat. Quin illud etiam dies noctesque cogito ac verso, quonam vos pacto cum omnibus fœderatis mihi Regibus ac populis, conjunctos facere atque fœderatos possim : ut & securiores esse, majori fulti præsidio possitis, et eorum omñium adjumento & conspiratione ornatiores. Quod Dei benignitate brevi futurum confido. Itaque hoc sic habetote, ut de mea prona propensaque ad vos amandos ornandosque voluntate, studio, benevolentia, vobismet ipsi omnia polliceamini, quæ expectari possunt ab hujus reipublicæ præfecto, vestri nominis amantissimo.

Hortor autem vos, planeque a vobis etiam atque etiam peto & postulo ; ut quemadmodum adhuc quidem egregie laudabiliterque fecistis, seduci vos abalienarique a nobis quorundam malevolorum artibus posthac ne permittatis : sed contra erigatis potius, diligentiamque vestram ea in re etiam adaugeatis. Quibus de rebus omnibus Ennius Episcopus Verulanus aget vobiscum latius. Data prid. Jul. Anno primo. Roma.

NO. LXXVIII.

(Page 208.)

Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. iii. ep. 1.

MAXIMILIANO MARIE MEDIOLANENSII DUCI.

ALLATUM est, Helvetios pro tua ditionisque tuæ propugnatione, cum Gallis apud Novariam conflixisse, eosque superavisse, ac prope ad internitionem pulsos fugatosque redegissee. Ea res tametsi propter occisorum magnum numerum, qui quidem Christianæ reipublicæ esse usui aliquando potuissent, meum animum dolore admodum perculit ; tamen pro tua in nos observantia & meo in te tuosque omnes veteri singularique amore magnopere gavisus sum, qui te de statu rerum tuarum deturbare atque expellere sunt aggressi, eorum conatus cogitationesque non solum irritas & inanes fuisse, sed ipsis etiam insignem cladem attulisse. Cujus quidem eventus atque victoriæ Deo Opt. Max. qui te tueri atque defendere voluit, gratias agere, tantorumque beneficiorum summam illi acceptam referre te in primis decet : ut pius in illum esse, ac dignus eo munere maxime fuisse videre. Quod quidem fiet, si duci efferrique te victoriæ dulcedine non sines, neque statues eos omnes, qui contra te aliquid conati sunt, usquequaque velle te perdere ac persequi. Quam in cogitationem ut incumbas, lenissimeque agas, eodem illo meo in te amore benevolentiaque admonitus vel potius impulsus te rogo, & quidem valde rogo ; atque ut si

quid a quoquam erratum peccatumque est (est autem fortasse a multis) venia id magis, quam vindicta dignum existimes a te peto. Sic enim melius eorum, qui abalienati sunt, animos tibi benevolos reddes, neque infirmabis ullam rerum tuarum partem. Qui enim potes in ullos animadvertere, quin ditionis tuæ homines mulctes ac punias? quod si sæpe facias, tuas ipsius opes debilitaveris. Accidet enim id, quod esse tibi exploratissimum debet, ut minus multa perficias, cum timore, non benevolentia, erunt negocia constituenda. Extremum illud adjungitur, quod quidem haud scio an omnium primum atque maximum sit: quod si parces multis, si veniam pluribus dabis, imitatus Dominum fueris, qui tibi vires subministravit ad tui nominis hostes fugandos atque propulsandos. Nihil enim illo mitius, nihil injuriarum minus retinens, nihil ad parcendum, ad miserandum pronius atque profusius unquam fuit. Quamobrem redeo ad illud, ut te amantissime hortor, ut tua victoria quam moderatissimo quamque lenissimo animo utare. Quod si feceris, neque aures malevolis hominibus præbueris, id quod solet esse difficillimum efficies, prudentiamque cum fortuna conjunges. Dat III. Id. Jun. Anno I. Roma.

No. LXXIX.

(Page 208.)

Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. iii. ep. 2.

RAIMUNDO CARDONÆ PROREGI NEAPOLIS.

HELVETIORUM contra Gallos victoria de qua nuncii nuper ad me sunt allati, non solum propter Maximiliani Insubrum Ducis incolumitatem fortunasque eo prælio restitutas plane atque confirmatas, sed etiam quia tu pro illo laborasti, mihi gratissima atque jucundissima accidit. Quanquam sane tot fortes homines, tot claros viros tantam tamque bellicosam manum, quæ quidem reipublicæ Christianæ dignitatem tueri facile propagareque potuisset, funditus periisse non moles-

tissime ferre non potui. Pacem enim maxime, non bella, hominumque in Deum pietatem, non jacturam Christiani sanguinis, aut prælii dimicationem cupere singuli exoptareque debemus. Quoniam autem ad Maximilianum dedi literas, quibus literis hortatus eum sum, ne omnes illos, qui aliquid in se conati molitive sunt, dignos putaret quos usque ad internitionem persequeretur: peto abs te, quem quidem scio plurimum apud ipsum valere, ut autoritate tua studium meum juves, ostendasque ei nihil esse vero Principe dignius nihil omnino laudabilius placabilitate, lenitate, misericordia: nihil contra detestabilius inclementia, iracundia, crudelitate. Itaque velit injuriarum oblivisci, mitemque se atque flexibilem ad humanitatem præbere, ut & dignus eo munere, & optimi tranquillique animi, atque in primis Deo grati esse maxime videatur, suorumque populorum non tam fortunas, quam etiam animos possidere, eis amicissimis & benevolentissimis uti possit. Id si feceris, & ipsi optime consulueris, & certe mihi, qui summa illum benevolentia sum complexus, quietemque & multorum finem laborum cum omnibus tum illis maxime populis aliquando tandem dari cupio, feceris gratissimum. Data tertio Id. Jun. Anno primo. Roma.

No. LXXX.

(Page 211.)

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 50.

Ad Regem Litera Cardinalis Eborum, super Victoria in Conflictu communiter vocato, LA JOURNEE D'ESPERONS, super Indulto nuper Papæ in manibus Cardinalis Sinagallensis deposito, super Reductione Scismaticorum Cardinalium, & de Imperatore movendo pro Pace cum Venetis.

PLEASE IT YOUR GRACE,

THE Fifth Day of this Month the *Poopis Holinis* was advertised from oon Ambassadour of the Florentynes, Resident at the Fransshe Court, upon Yor Grace late Conflict with

th' Ennymyes of the Church, and the manner of Your moste Victorious Tryumphe obtenyde against the same; whiche was unto *his Holines* and all odir Your *Grace's* Frendes Lovers and Servaunttes here marvalous grette Joye and Comforthe, and surelie unto your Ennemyes in this Courtt no lesse Paine and Discourage.

Uppon the Morrowe next aftur I went unto the *Cardinall Sinogalen*, desyring him, in *Your Grace's* Name, for to have deliverde unto Me the *Breve*, that *Youre Grace* knowthe of, putt into his keeping for *Yor Highnes* by the Blessed Memoryc of *Pope Julye* according to the said *Popis* Commandement:

He answered me that nodre he is ne ever was of oder mynde but that *Your Grace* shulde have it uppon the accomplishyng of such Conditions as be compriside in the same, which he grauntithe that now *Your Grace* most noble and with moost glorious Victorie hath fullfillide; Albeit he saithe that, because the said *Breve* is of so greate and so weightie Importance, apperteignyng the perpetuall Honour of so Highe and Myghtie a Prince, he durste no be so boulde as to deliver itt from his Hands unto ony levyng Creatour without speciall Commandement yeven unto hym from *Your Grace* in Writing; whiche hade, he saithe, he will with all his Hartt and Mynde deliver itt unto Me for *Your Gracis* Bihove and Honour, soo he grauntith that the said *Pope Julie* commaunded hym, he praithe *Your Grace* to latt itt be noo otherwise shewide butt that Ye hade the saide *Breve* in *Youre Haundes* in *Pope Julys* Days, he wolde nott that the *Popis Holines* that now is shulde in ony manner knowe the contrary.

And, stonding that *his Holines* hath Confirmyde all such Indulties and Graces as the said *Pope Julie* did Graunte unto *Your Grace*, whereof this said *Breve* is oon and moost of Gravite, Me semyth *Your Highnes* may right honourabilie and condignlie desire of *his Holines* speciall Confirmation of the said *Breve* in more ample maner *under Leade*; whiche I truste verali nodre he will ne conveyently may denye.

I sende unto *Your Grace*, with thies Presenttes, a Lettre from my said *Lorde Cardinall Sinogalen*, writen with his own haunde, uppon his loving contynuyde good Mynde and Woll towards *Yor Grace* in the Premysse.

If it may stonde withe *Your Graces* Pleasour, att conveyent tyme, aftyr youre receptt of the said *Breve*, to Yeve unto hym some Promotion more or lesse in recompence of his trewe and feithfull demenour towardis your *said Grace* in this Bihalf, I thinke that nat oonlie it should grettlie redunde unto your Honour, but also reteigne hym evir to contyenewe as oone of *Your Gracis* moste kynd and loving Frenedes during his Lyve.

After that thies Newes afforesaide ware dyvulgate in the Citie here, th' Ambassadour of Venyce, being here Resident, desiride Me withe grett instance moste humblelie to besiche *your Grace* uppon thare bihalfe, that, stoundying that th' *Emperour* is now presentt with *Your Grace*, ye woll wiche save to move his Majestie for some goode and indifferent Peace to be establashide betwixt the Same and Them; He depeeched a Curious straightlie unto their Signorie with writing uppon this forsaide Ovarthrowe of the Franshmen, and saithe he doubtithe nott but the hoill Signorie woll in all haste possible addresse their Letters towards *Your Grace* of most humble Supplication for the Premysse, supposing veralie that, by reason of th' *Emperiall Majesties* Presence with *Your Highnes*, ye shal set some goode Ordor betwixt Them, and doubtith not, as he said, but that the saide Signorie wol be right tractable thereunto.

Uppon the *Breve* of Confirmation of all such Grauntes as *Pope Julie* had grauntide unto *Your Highnes* sundrie days affore that ye were advertiside thereof frome Me ande my Lorde your Oratour here, and in like maner uppon the Restitution of the Scismatiques *Saintt Crossis* and *Saintt Severyne*, I pray *Your Grace* nott to thynke herefore that he shulde in your Causes be more diligent or use better Studie for th' Exspede therof then We do; well I am assuride that the *said Breve* was graunted and finallie Exspede, save oonlie at the Plombe, Sundrie Days affore that

ever he knewe it laboride; fore as soon as he hade knowlege of it, he corruptid oon of the Secretaries, and gatt of hym a Copie, to th' entent he myght shew unto *Your Grace* his pretendite Diligence and goode Service.

He myght right longe affore have shewide unto *Your Grace* the intendide Restitution of the said Schismatiques; His Diligence and Labours were moche more seen in bryngyng that matier to pass thenever I did see in hym for ony Cause apperteignyng owdere to *Yor Gracis* Honour or Pleasour.

Thus I shall most hartlie besiche the Blesside Trinitie for the Preservation of Your moste Highe and Roiall Astate.

From *Rome*, the xiith Day of Septembre 1513.

Your moost humble Beedman and Subject.

No. LXXXI.

(Page 213.)

Bembi Epist. Pontif. lib. v. ep. 19.

REGI BRITANNIÆ.

LECTIS tuis literis, quibus me de tua in Morinis contra Gallos victoria, Morinorumque deditione certiore facis magna sane lætitia pro mea in te paterna benevolentia, proque rei confectæ magnitudine affectus sum: habuique Deo Opt. Max. gratias, quod is eorum, qui pro hujus Imperii dignitate tuenda & conservanda pio ac recto animo arma sumserunt, curas conatusque fortuhaverit. Quanquam id quidem certe prope pro comperto semper habui. Sperabam enim fore, ut omnia tibi prospere atque feliciter evenirent, cum propterea quod prudentibus consiliis, summis opibus, magno apparatu, numerosissima validissimaque manu, Maximiliano etiam Romanorum Imperatore designato, sua tecum consilia communicante, bellum hostibus inferre es ag-

gressus: tum vel maxime, qui Dei causam agendam et defendendam suscepisti. Itaque cum non multos dies de tua victoria lætus inter tuorum Legatorum jucundas salutationes confecissem, vellemque ut par erat, ea de re tecum per literas gratulari, ecce alteras abs te literas, quæ secundam nobis partam abs te victoriam longe maximam atque clarissimam attulerunt, Britannicos scilicet exercitus tuos cum Jacobo Scotorum Rege, qui quidem ingenti militum numero invaserat in ditionem tuam, manum conseruisse, ejus exercitum fudisse, magnam eorum partem Rege ac Regni Principibus occisis internitioni dedisse, magnam etiam captivam fecisse. Itaque paucis te diebus bellum atrox ac periculosum felicissime confecisse. Iis intellectis, tametsi per mihi molestum fuit, tantum Christiani sanguinis effusum fuisse, tot hominum millia e populo Dominico desiderari, tum Christianum Regem egregii sane nominis neque spernendarum virium, Sororis tuæ virum, Christiani Regis sibique conjunctissimi ferro confossum cecidisse; valde tamen sum gavisus, alteros tuos exercitus tam illustrem tamque celerem victoriam de alteris tuis hostibus qui te ab optimo tuo incepto revocare conabantur, reportavisse. Quamobrem eundem illum, qui hos duplices gloriæ tuæ proventus subministravit, Deum flexis ad terram genibus, erectisque cælo manibus adoravi, quod tibi Regi plane juveni bellorum initium ab Ecclesiæ suæ defensione auspicanti hæc rudimenta tam præclara tamque conspicua, quasi fundamenta jecerit reliquæ sane vel gloriæ vel ætatis tuæ. Te vero in primis decet existimare, ab illo te omnia, non ab humanis opibus accepisse: quoque Dominus Deusque nosfer pluribus atque majoribus ornamentis virtutem illustrare atque condecorare voluit tuam, eo te quidem certe illi humiliorem submissioremque fieri, erit virtutis et prudentiæ singularis. Quod cum feceris, non solum credibile est fore ut tibi is secunda prosperaque omnia in iis, quas nunc tractas, rebus atque bellis largiatur: sed viam etiam muniat, per quam ingrediens, tuum nomen optimis atque sanctissimis artibus æternitati consecrare facile possis. Id erit, cum tibi eas cogitationes propones, quibus reliquis tuis restinctis pacatisque bellis ad contundendam

Turcarum nimis jam incitatum exultantemque ferociam accendere. Quas ad cogitationes ineundas, quemadmodum nunc quidem se res habet, multum dari nobis posse temporis, non est existimandum. Ita jam et Pannoniæ Sarmatiæque regna populata debilitataque ab illis sunt, premunturque in dies acrius: et ipsa Italia amissis in proximis regionibus non unis præsidiis, illos sibi vicinos finitimosque acerbum sane dolendumque spectaculum contuetur. Hæc pericula, ut vere dicam quod sentio, me suspensum atque sollicitum habent, meamque de secundis tuis rebus voluptatem et lætitiā esse solidam atque propriam non sinunt. Quare ab ipso immortali Deo precibus omnibus atque votis peto, ut quemadmodum Ecclesiæ suæ dignitatem ab iis, qui ejus propugnationem suscipere in primis debebant, aliquando male habitam egregie prosperrimeque est tutatus: ita eam et ab accenso ad inflammanda sacrosancta ejus templa atque delubra igne, et ab imminente populorum sibi dicatorum cervicibus ferro, inimicarum perpetuo gentium, aliquando tandem eripiat. Quibus de rebus omnibus cum Episcopo Unigorniensi, Legato tuo, loquutus sum, ut is tibi mentem meam perscribere latius ac diligentius possit. Datis quinto Id. Octob. Anno primo. Roma.

No. LXXXII.

(Page 223.)

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 51.

SERENISSIMO AC EXCELLENTISSIMO PRINCIPI ET DOMINO
 MEO COLENDISSIMO DOMINO HENRICO, ANGLIÆ, &c.
 REGI.

SERENISSIME & Excellentissime Rex et Domine, Domine
 mi Colendissime, Humillimam Commendationem.

Provexit me nuper non mea quidem virtus, quæ exigua aut nulla est, sed *Summi Pontificis* Benignitas, cum Tribus aliis Dominis & Collegis meis ad Cardinalatus Dignitatem:

De qua (verum fatebor) non tam mihi existimo lætandum esse, quam illud considerandum quo, ut unusquisque se cognoscat, admonemur.

Equidem ut de me loquar, nam aliis jampridem eam Dignitatem merito deberi sciebam, in eum ordinem me sentio relatum, illud fastigium ascendisse ubi sine periculo consistere posse vix me puto; nam video quale æquor intravimus & cujus navis remigio admoti sumus, nec cui confidam certior ac vicinior succurrit quam Autor Deus, qui dignabitur sua clementia vires præbere sustinendo ponderi quod imposuit, & honorem quem dedit conservare, meque eam vitam ducere quæ creditæ mihi Dignitati conveniat.

Quod vero ad meam in *Majestatem vestram* servitutem attinet, visum mihi est nunc Illi scribere non tam ut promotionem Illi meam significarem (quam ex aliorum literis auditam illi puto) sed animum ut aperirem meum clarissimis ac felicissimis inclytisque ejus rebus gestis Deditissimum & obstrictum.

Et, quicquid ex hac mea Dignitate, qualiscumque futura ea est, honoris, emolumenti, industriæ, laboris, ac studii promittere possum, Illi omnia dedicare, sicut vero & optimo Principi & de sancta Universali Ecclesia, difficillimo ejus tempore, tantopere merito, mihi vero præcipuo & singularissimo Domino; & cui ego & Familia nostra omnis omnia debemus, & ejus Regio Servitio parata semper offerimus.

Habeat in hac Curia plurimos *vestra Regia Majestas* doctrina, prudentia & auctoritate præstantiores; qui me fide, animo & affectu erga eam sit superaturus inveniet certe neminem, sicut ex suo ore, qui Servitutis meæ testis est locupletissimus, planius intelliget, *Vestra Regia Majestas*; cui me continue & humillime commendo.

Romæ ex Palatio Apostolico xxx Septembris, M. D. xiii.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis,

Humillimus et Fidelissimus Servitor,

J. CARDINALIS DE MEDICIS.

No. LXXXIII.

(Page 224.)

Bembi Epist. Pontif. lib. v. ep. 7.

FERDINANDO HISPANIÆ REGI.

ETSI scio iis de rebus, quæ per nos publice geruntur, a Legato tuo homine perdiligente, fieri te quotidie certior: volui tamen, ut quod novissime pro Reip. ornamento & incremento statui faciendum, id meis etiam literis cognosceres. Non enim vereor, quin tibi pro tuo erga me amore Remque pub. Christianam studio, ejusmodi omnia æque jucunda sint, atque ipsi mihi. Itaque scies me ad XI. Cal. Octob. fratrib. meis E. R. Cardinalibus consentientib. Laurentium Pucium, familiarem meum, a dandis literis, & Julium Medicen, Archiepiscopum Florentiæ designatum, patruelem meum, & Bernardum Divitium Bibienam, Quæstorem, atque Innocentium Cibum, Sororis meæ filium, Innocentii Papæ Octavi nepotem, plurimis maximisque de caussis in Cardinallium collegium cooptavisse. Quorum trium prudentiam, integritatem, agendisque rebus usum atque scientiam, virtutesque cæteras, & esse tibi perspectas existimo & reip. & honori & præsidio confido fore. De Innocentio autem, spero fore ut volumus; habet enim egregiam indolem conjunctam cum optimis moribus, quos ornat literarum & bonarum artium studiis; ut nihil jam sit adolescente illo probius, elegantius, charius. Ejus rei confectio, quæ me magnopere delectavit, erit sane mihi & gratior & jucundior si tibi quoque, qui recte omnia prudenterque judicas, perpendereque soles probabitur. Existimare autem debes, quoniam tuorum in me familiamque meam, plurimorum non solum officiorum, sed etiam beneficiorum, illi ipsi omnium optimi testes semper fuere, quæ ad tuam dignitatem tuendam atque amplificandam pertinebunt, eos esse non minus diligenter, quam quæ nostra ipsorum intererunt, omni tempore curaturos. Datis IX. Cal. Octob. M. D. XIII. Anno primo. Roma.

No. LXXXIV.

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AURELII SERENI THEATRUM CAPITOLINUM.

*Beatissimo Clementissimoque Divo Leoni X. Pont. Maximo
Aurelius Serenus Monopolitanus.*

AD uberiolem tui imperii gloriam, Beatissime Pater, id divinitus contigit, quod nullo unquam tempore superiorum Pontificum contigisse proditum est. In annuis enim tui Pontificatus ludis mense Martio celebratis, eo quidem mense quem Romulus, urbis tibi obsequentissimæ conditor, patri dedicavit Marti, quo tempore ver novum incipit, et tellus, floridis induta coloribus, suavissimos odores per orbem effundit, Indus Elephas omnium animalium sagacissimus a Serenissimo Emanuele Lusitanorum Regem, per splendidissimum Equitem Oratorem suum Tristanum Cuneum missus, incognitus nec dum seculo nostro in Italia visus, stupentibus ac mirantibus populis, per totam urbem exhibitus apparuit. Quod spectaculum Pompeio, Hannibali, Domitiano, paucisque aliis patuit, id tuo augustissimo tempore fuit demonstratum: ut docile animal in tua publica hilaritate oblatum, supplex tuum numen sentiret adoraretque. Congruit igitur ut iisdem lætitiæ diebus hic meus libellus prodiret et Septimo mense legitimam fortasse foeturam emitteret, qui ob rei novitatem ac magnitudinem, Elephas jure appellari potest. Agitur quidem de celeberrimo Capitolino Theatro; quod superiori mense Septembri, S. P. Q. R. Magnifico Juliano dilectissimo tuo Germano, civitate donato, paravit; quo nihil ornatius copiosius magnificentiusque usquam auditum, visum, aut in historiis descriptum ostenditur. Verum id negotii suscipiendum mihi satis pertinui, quandoquidem Chilonem illum Lacedæmonium, cujus responsa pro oraculis accepit antiquitas, ex tot sententiis quas edidit, hunc precipuam saluberrimamque tulisse autumant, Unumquemque se ipsum noscere oportere. Hoc dictum adeo ce-

lebratissimum apud priscos viros fuerat, ut e cœlo cecidisse non ab re crediderint. Metiri enim se quemque suo modulo ac pede certum est. Quam rem si quisquam recte perceperit, atque animo menteque sæpius volutaverit, nihil absonum nec laude indignum agitat; sed per sanctissimum rationis tramitem assidue gradietur, decorumque ad unguem in rebus omnibus servabit. Id mihi vitio nonnullos in præsentia objecturos esse non vereor; qui tantam ac inusitatam provinciam aggredi non dubitaverim. Ego etsi meas tenues exilesque vires non denegaverim, meque inter pelliculam (ut ajunt) tenere sciverim, ne tam magnum onus subirem, quam ad celebrandum hunc Capitolinum Apparatum, non mea, quæ perexigua est, sed Maroniana opus esset Musa; tamen si id agendum meo jure vendicasse videor, et aliquid de ipsis laudibus, quæ pene divinæ et innumerabiles sunt, in medium afferre instituerim, duabus me tutabor rationibus. Altera est meæ ingenuæ adversus Beatitudinem tuam, Senatumque Romanum ipsum observantiæ significatio. Altera exploratissimæ veritatis ostensio. Quæ quidem dum patefiat, non cultam verborum copiam desiderat, non eloquentiæ ornatum exoptat, sed simplex animi obsequium pensitabit; tantum roboris in se habet veritas, ut nullo angulo indigeat, nullumque ad concitandos animos, apud doctos præsertim clarosque viros, loquacitatis fucum, calamistratumque sermonem postulet. Nam quemadmodum Maurus ille et agrestis homo, Elephantis rector ac moderator, universæ urbi, spectantique populo, ingentem voluptatem tribuit, quo ductore immanis bellua mitis et mansueta incedit, ad cujus nutum omnia perficit, obsequiturque docilissima, nec illius persona ad tantæ rei momentum despicitur; ita et ego ad hujus Theatri structuram non indignus opifex exiero: dum qualibuscunque carminibus Romanorum laudes enarraturus, urbem ipsam admirantibus voluptatem attulero. Rem itaque omnem a principio, qualiter gesta fuerit, examussim aperio, nihilque intactum reliquisse videor. Malui diligens indagator fieri, longamque seriem accuratius absolvere, quam in tanto rerum fastigio, ob incultæ linguæ pudorem, aliquid mutilatum minusque perfectum ostendisse. Quare cum li-

bellus iste (ut diximus) ex æqua utriusque partis majestate, et urbis susipientis, et civis suscepti Elephantis instar habeat, veritus ne verborum inopia Grillus diceret, pepercisse calamo alienum judicavi, digressionibus non ineptis materiam exaggerans; eo tamen pacto, ut tripartito operi (ni fallor) quo ad Theatri descriptionem, nihil deesse videbitur, quo ad apparatus ordinem nil vehementius dici potuisset, quo demum ad epuli celebritatem, ut cæna ista omnibus aliis superiorum Principum longe antecellit, ita a nemine ullo propensius cæna aliqua explicata invenitur. Theatrum igitur Capitolinum res urbis et fratris tui complectens, tuo Sancto Nomini dedico; ut eo libentius cum ocium dabit legendum audias; quo illam confoves tuerisque; et illum diligis et amas. Quod munus ita gratus suscipere dignetur tua Beatitudo, ut mentis meæ serenitatem ex animo perpendere possit; qua eandem Beatitudinem, togatamque Romanorum gentem prosequor, colo, ac veneror. Hocque pro tempore edatur satis. Deinde tuarum laudationum libellum imprimendum curabo. Romæ decimo Kal. Apriles Anno a natali Christiano M.D.XIII. Tui vero pontificatus anno secundo.

No. LXXXV.

(Page 232.)

Bembi Epist. Pontif. lib. iii. ep. 22.

MAXIMILIANO ROMANORUM IMPERATORI DESIGNATO.

HERI, quemadmodum Deo Opt. Max. placuit, qui delinquentium interitum non vult, sed ut eos poeniteat & vivant, Bernardinus Caravajalis Episcopus, & Federicus Severinas Diaconus Cardinales, quos ante, propterea quod in Dei Ecclesia sacrosancta atram perniciosamque scismatis nebulam excitavissent, Pisanumque Concilium conflavissent, Julius II. Pontifex Maximus Cardinalatus amplitudine ac munere sacerdotiisque omnibus mulctaverat, privatosque reddiderat,

aura Zephyri cœlestis afflati ad veram pœnitentiam revertentes, frequenti fratrum meorum Cardinalium Conventu populari in veste ad pedes se nostros demissi supplicesque projecerunt, veniamque suorum erratorum & delictorum precibus omnibus petiverunt, paratosque se dixerunt esse, quam ipsis cunque pœnam statuissimus, eam luere & perpeti animis libentissimis: pollicitique sunt, se posthac Sacro Lateranensi Concilio semper adhæsuros, semper meæ fratrumque meorum voluntati mandatisque obtemperaturos. Quod ipsum tametsi antea per eam schedam manu sua scriptam fecerant, quæ in postremo ejusdem Concilii die perlecta, pœnitentiam eorum humilitatemque declaravit, idem tamen multo quidem clarius atque apertius præsentes egerunt; Pisanoque Concilio repudiato, altera a se perlecta scheda plenior scilicet, expressiorisque sententiæ planeque submissioris, quæcunque in eo acta essent, damnaverunt, magnopereque improbaverunt. Quamobrem nos, quos quidem a lege universæ Christianæ Reip. Deus posuit, ut nemini vere pœnitenti, pietatis suæ cuius nos ministros esse voluit, fores occluderemus, humilitatem eorum, confessionem, pœnitentiam, gratissimum Deo sacrificium sperantes futuras, eos ambos, paterne quidem antea reprehensos atque castigatos, eorundem Cardinalium consensu, ad Cardinatus officium, dignitatem, sessionemque qua prius utebantur, restitimus. Quod eo libentius feci, quod perniciosum illud schismatis vulnus, quo tunc Ecclesia Dei scissa disjectaque ab illis non solis fuit, eorum duorum ad veram pœnitentiam reditu, coire plane jam sanarique videbatur. Ad cuius quidem schismatis nomen extinguendum atque delendum ipse certe negligentior ac dissolutior si fuisset, tuæ tamen prudentes hortationes me in primis excitare potuissent ut nihil prætermitterem, quod ad negotium conficiendum, ad exitumque perducendum posse aliquid afferre opis et facultatis videretur. Itaque cum per me ipse nihil æque unquam optavisset, quam in Dei Sponsæ vultu eam notam cicatricemque aboleri, te hortatore libentius atque proclivius in eam cogitationem incubui, ut eos viros, quos commemoravi, abalienatos dudum a Rep. desciscentesque, ad veritatis fontem

recta redeuntes via amice paterneque exciperem. Qua omnino de re non solum nos, sed universa urbs visa est magnam voluptatem cepisse, seque admodum audito ejusmodi humilitatis pœnitentiæ restitutionisque nuncio exhilaravisse. Ipse autem maximas Deo gratias cum egissem, qui suos de alienis facit, quique nobis dedit tanti sceleris comprimendi facultatem, hæc tibi omnia in primis duxi esse significanda: quem quidem pro tua in rempub. conservandam atque amplificandam cura, studio, diligentia, labore, plane scio libenti animo has literas perlecturum: in quibus erit utrarumque de quibus mentionem feci, schedarum, et cum iis abolitionis nostræ eorum peccati restitutionisque ad priorem statum exemplum, quo cognoscere singula melius atque facilius possis. Te vero, tametsi minus id quidem necesse est facere me, sed pro meo in te studio mihi tamen faciendum puto, amantissime sane hortor, ut, quod adhuc quidem semper fecisti, posthac etiam facias, piamque matrem omnium Deum amantium Ecclesiam, cujus protegendæ causa post Christi vicarios maximum ipse in terris magistratum geris, ab omnibus ejus pacem atque concordiam perturbantibus, vindices atque defendas. Datis IV. Cal. Jul. Anno Primo. Roma.

No. LXXXVI.

(Page 233.)

Rymer. Fœder. tom. vi. p. 53.

LITERA PAPÆ LEONIS AD PACEM HORTATORIA.

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Eis ex Literis, quas ad Nos & quibus ad Dilectum Filium nostrum *Christophorum Tituli Sanctæ Præxedis Presbiterum Cardinalem* rationes tuas de eo ipso Legato non admittendo perscripsisti, cognovimus animum *Majestatis tuæ* non ita, uti vellemus, deflexum ad Pacem, & a consiliis concordie aliquantum abhorrentem; sed tamen ut ex eisdem

literis & constantis Regis & Invicti Principis virtus atque animus eluceat; quippe enim Te religione Fœderum & Conjunctorum Regum societate ac concordia impediri scribis, quo minus Tibi consilia Pacis seorsum ab illis capias; firma quidem in eo & constans est ratio tua, neque aliter decet Regem Magnanimum & Præstantem, sed neque a Nobis consilium ullum profectum est erga Te ut illis relictis Paci solus studeres. Nos enim evellere ex animo tuo omnes odii atque inimicitiarum aculeos voluimus, ut illis ejectis tanquam in bonum solum sic in sensum tuum Pacis & Concordiæ semina jaceremus: nec tamen Tibi soli hoc persuadere nixi sumus; sed, hortante Nos nostri honoris munere atque officio, Venerabilibus etiam Fratribus nostris, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, & ab initio Pontificatus nostri, & postea sæpe tam in Consistoriis nostris secretoque in Sacri Concilii Lateranensis Sessionibus palam Nos ad hanc curam suscipiendam conficiendæ Pacis vocantibus & obtestantibus, agere cum cæteris quoque Regibus, ad arma si qui spectant, non destitimus, neque vero desistemus, Deique in eo voluntati & Saluti Christiani nominis quantum eniti poterimus, omni & studio & opera adhærebimus; præsertim cum etiam multorum Regum atque Principum querelæ ad Nos per Literas & Nuncios ipsorum parlatae sint, ferentium graviter & indignantium has perseverare inter Christianos discordias, non solum fidei Catholicæ perniciosas, sed ne ipsis quidem qui eas exercent ullo modo utiles.

Quocirca etiam, *Carissime in Christo Fili*, Nobisque in amore & paterna Caritate præcipue adhortamur in Domino & rogamus, ut dedere Animum tuum nostris amantissimis Consiliis velis.

Etenim cum illud nobile & gloriosum propositum animi tui, quo ad arma capienda adductus es, ut Libertatem Ecclesiasticam violatam Injuria nonnullorum defenderes, Sedisque Apostolicæ dignitatem ab omni labe vindicares, jam ad exitum perductum sit, hostesque tui numine & tua incredibili virtute, tuorum quoque Confœderatorum Opera, positis animis contumacibus, ad Unitatem Ecclesiæ & erga Nos ac sedem Apostolicam Reverentiam humiles accesserint, est

jam tuum gerere inimicitias placabiles, et si tuo Honori satis consultum fuerit, Pacem quoque potius quam Bellum appetere. Illius enim jam tui præstantissimi facti fructus, qui Tibi ex nostra & totius posteritatis prædicatione uberrimi debentur, Tibi sunt & erunt semper paratissimi, nunc, sicut armis invictum Te præstitisti, ita optimis consiliis tractabilem Te ut præbeas, erit non minoris laudis tuæ quam illud fuit gloriæ. Nos quidem, qui & constantiam ac fidem tuam probamus, & virtutem miro amore complectimur, non Tibi suademus quæ contra tuam honestatem sint, ut sine Confœderatorum tuorum consensu Te ad Pacem accedere velimus; sed salva Dignitate tua & honorificis conditionibus paratis ut animum promptum ad Pacem, si cæteri consenserint, habebas, id rogamus; nec Te ab Illis avellere, sed, Te, Nobiscum una, Illos adhortante, causamque Dei & Pacis fovente honestis conditionibus arma ponere animum cæteri ut inducant, Nos aliquid assecuturos speramus; *Majestas quidem tua*, si Consilia nostra in eam partem acceperit ad quam diriguntur, seseque ad illa & suas Deliberationes accommodaverit, aget & ex Summi Dei Sententia & ex virtute ac humanitate sua.

Datum *Romæ*, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die Decima septima Decembris, Millesimo quingentesimo decimo tertio, Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo.

JA. SADOLETUS.

*Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico
Regi Angliæ Illustri.*

No. LXXXVII.

(Page 243.)

See Appendix, No. LXIX.

No. LXXXVIII.

(Page 244.)

*Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. tom. x. p. 31.**Jo. Pierii Valeriani.*

SERMO, cui titulus est SIMIA, AD LEONEM X.

NEMO umquam tanto studiove, fideve, labore
 Proficere, officiis vel sedulus omnibus, ut non
 Interpres malus occurrat, qui singula prave
 Invertat, veluti quædam modo fabula vates
 Subsannat, Pater alme, tuas & vellicat aures.
 Nam quoties tibi quicquam, animum quod leniat ægrum
 Porrigimus, curis et blandimenta paramus,
 Ecce, ajunt, vere nunc Simia vana Leonem
 Exagitat, viden' ut turba importuna poëtæ!
 Quamprimum nostro illuxit Leo Maximus orbi,
 Hunc misere affligunt quocunque in limine, nunc in
 Porticibus, nunc in lecto, et penetralibus imis,
 In specula, in luco citriorum, altoque recessu?
 Sive is res duras, et magna negotia versat,
 Et quæ omnes nunc invadunt incendia terras,
 Sive cibum capit, aut superante labore quietem,
 Fortior ut rebus se mox accingat agendis,
 Instant hi tamen; inque meras avertere nugas
 Tantum hominem, tantis vexatum pectora curis
 Pergunt; ulla unquam ne sit spirare potestas;
 Denique sic petulans generoso infensa Leoni
 Simia; quæ natibus, caudæque, et clunibus hujus
 (Tantum animi est parvis) adfixa procacibus ausis
 Hoc tam magnum animal vexatque, agitatque, neque ullam
 Esse moram patitur, musca importunior apta.
 Illa feros vitare ungues, et dentis acumen,
 Lubrica dum fidit saltu, levibusque lacertis,
 Deque suo affectat sibi tot ludibria rege.
 Ergo odere tui sic nos, Pater optime, sed tu

Quid facias? vis esse Leo? patiare Leonis
Jura, neque hæc temere confingi nomina credas;
Quæ Deus, aut sapiens Natura animantibus ipsis
Indidit, et tacitum admonuit latitare vigorem.
Scilicet est curæ nobis, quæ pectore in imo
Consilia assidue volvas, ut ponere tandem
Cladibus Europæ finemque modumque ruentis
Possis, inque Scythas strictum convertere ferrum.
Immo hæc, atque alia, atque etiam his majora poëtæ
Concipiunt, neque enim frustra Deus ingruit illis.
Sed ne forte adeo, assimulet quod Simia vatem,
Ridiculum esse putes, natura hæc compare constant.
Nonne vides, rebus non bruta ut mente gerendis
Simia se, et nostris accommodat artibus, utque
Humanos ritusque modosque imitatur et ori
Denique ut est nostro similis digitisque, volaque.
Nempe etiam humanos pro re, pro tempore, mores
Qua de cunque velis vitæ ratione, poëta
Exprimit, atque omnem dictis accommodat artem;
Fit Proteus, fit Vertumnus: nunc fingit Julum
Acrem animi, indomitumque malis fera bella moventem,
Seu Venetos, seu Felsineos domitare pararet,
Sive Pado dare jura suo, seu vertere bellum
Trans Alpes, Italoque solo donare quietem.
Nunc te cum patribus dudum, sanctoque Senatu
Pacandis mundi rebus diversa petentem
More Numæ, indigeris post aspera bella Quirini
Consulere in medium, quo possint foedere tandem
Jungi Gallica castra, Caledoniæque phalanges;
Unde animos ponat Cæsar; Veneti unde quiescant;
Unde modus prædis, et tantis cædibus; unde
Spes Italis. Regemve suum, aut sua jura tueri,
Barbaricasque olim collo abrupisse catenas.
Demum horum est vates, ut ludicra Simia, mimus.
Hæc eadem, si vera canunt, venerabile quondam
Signum habitum in templis, Nilique per oppida sanctum.
Nam docilis calamos ductare, et volvere chartas
Rite admissa sacris, delubri in parte locata.

Damnavit populos votis, precibusque benigne
Favit, et Ægyptum omnem in religione, pari cum
Iside, cumque Oro vel Osiride detinuisse
Fertur, et oblati ditasse altaria donis ;
Seu Caniceps manibus cœlo sublimibus, ortum
Laudaret Lunæ, posita seu sede sederet,
Sive cava latices cauda instillaret, et horas
Funderet, et pisces aversa fronte caveret.
Sic olim vates, qua totus panditur orbis
Ambitus, a populis, a gentibus omnibus uno
Sancti habiti, dictique sono, hinc oracula, leges,
Hinc modus, atque tenor vivendi mentibus hæsit ;
Sive error, sive improbitas mortalia corda
In sordem, in fraudem vano illectaret amore.
At postquam e terris jus, fasque, piumque recessit,
Subrepsere doli, visque omnia vertit, et ille
Clarius est, qui plura potest ; timuere poëtæ
Liberius taxare malos : qui, proh pudor, aureis
Carminibus turpes mores laudare coacti.
Nil sincero animo, ingenua nil mente locuti :
Temporibus se subjecere : ut Polypus omnes
Attrahit a scopulis animo trepidante colores.
Suntque ita Simiolas imitati, ut ludere numquam
Desierint, risusque hinc, et jocus esse tyrannis ;
Qui sanctos vates, vitæ, morumque honorum
Auctores, tandem sic eludere protervi,
Ut tanquam Satyri terga hispida fune revincti
Pro foribus, pro vestibulis, altisque fenestris,
Ostentarentur populo in risum, inque cachinnos.
At patriæ queis cura suprema diu obtigit omnis,
Non ita inhumani Medices, qui in sorte secunda
Virtutum omne genus sic erexere benignis
Auxiliis, opibusque, ut quidquid ubique nitoris
Cecropii, Latiique foret, Florentia totum
Ad sese traheret, doctasque referret Athenas.
Invidit Fortuna bonis ; ac ne foret ullus,
Qui ingenia auderet, sanctasque fovere Camœnas,
Attritis graviter rebus vos expulit urbe :

Nec tamen evaluit nitens pervincere tantum,
Ut non vestra domus doctisque probisque pateret
Semper, opemque libens miseris afferret amicis.
Nunc vero quum tu Fortunam eviceris omnem,
Mortalem supra sortem; qui flectere habenas
Terrarum cœlum usque potes, precor illa voluntas
Quæ cupienti olim fuerat, sit certa petenti;
Nam sine te (ut Sphyngis repetatur fabula nostræ)
Aonidum chorus est tanquam sine lumine Solis
Luna; sub imperio cujus vaga Simia vivit.
Nam cava si fuerit, si nullo candicet igne,
Simia languescit pariter, clangensque per omnes
Duodecies horas urinam sanguinis edit,
Inde suo fit Sole potens, lucemque remittit,
Qua Sol parte ferit tantum, et sine Apolline vates
Obscuri vitam in tenebris sine nomine ducunt.
Sol, Leo; ut Ægypti sapientia monstrat: ab alto
Ille micans, terris felicia cuncta ministrat:
Unde hominum genus, alituum pecudumque vigescunt,
Et pisces, tanta est virtus, vis tanta Leonis.
Quid memorem laticum lætissima munera? Nilum
Undantem, et late spatiosa per arva refusum,
Fertilibus glebis Cerealia dona ferentem.
Ægyptum hisce bonis Leo munerat, unda Leonis
Ore fluit, fontesque tubique ex ore Leonis.
At rores, pluviaeque olim, et liquor omnis Olympo
Deciduus, signum doctrinae effingitur, illa
Nulla erit absque opibus: veteres hinc sculpere cribrum
Commenti, et fruges prius ostentare paratas,
Quam tu unquam Musas, et honesta negotia tractes.
Quando igitur Leo Magnanimus tanto omine terris
Affulges plenoque exundat Copia cornu,
Nunc age Cercolypes, et sacros Cercopithecos,
Quos Liber, Albiolusque et Sepia monstrat alendos,
Legitimis admitte sacris, si vivere Musæ
Te nascente, patris Laurenti munere quondam
Ceperunt, casusque tuos, tua damna, per omne
Exilium tulerunt, si tecum, O denique fatis

In melius versis, redivivo lumine quæ sunt
 Tecum ortæ, tecum vigeant, felicia tecum
 Otia, et optatum teneant, Pater optime, portum.

No. LXXXIX.

(Page 246.)

Marini, Lettera sopra il Ruolo de' Professori dell' Archigimnasio Romano.

QUOD bonum faustum felixque sit LEONI X. PONTIFICI MAXIMO, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Patribus, Populoque Romano, Dei Optimi Maximi, Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, & Apostolorum Petri & Pauli auspitiis.

Pater amplissimus Raphael Episcopus Ostiensis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Camerarius, Dominicus Jacobatius Episcopus Lucerinus, Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ in alma Urbe Vicarius Generalis, Gymnasii Romani Rector, Antonius Zoccolini, Marius Octaviangeli, Antonius Draco, & Gabriel de Minutulis ejusdem Gymnasii Reformatores. Cum litteræ omnium fundamenta sint virtutum, illisque teneræ mentes excultæ omnia deinceps offitia facile exequantur, Pontificis Maximi liberalitate, studioque erga litteras invitati, ex ejus auctoritate, decretoque bonarum artium, disciplinarumque omnium tam humanarum, quam divinarum in præsentem annum a Christi natali 1514, a Pontificatu LEONIS X. secundo, Professorum nomina proponuntur, quorum industria excitentur ingenia, erudiantur mentes, doctrinæ atque eloquentiæ studia florent, virtutumque omnium honestissima exercitatio instituat, Professores ergo, qui inscripti sunt, tertio nonas Novembris negotium suscipiant, meminerintque quantum illis oneris sit impositum, labore industriaque enitantur ut *tali* honore, majoreque in dies præmio digni judicentur. Sciant non litterarum solum, sed morum optimorum, virtutumque Magistros se constitutos, *nihil* a Christiana Religione alienum doceant. Liber-

tatem ecclesiasticam, auctoritatemque Pontificis Maximi, et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ tutentur, commissumque sibi munus exequantur, neque alium quemvis suum in locum substituant. Statutis diebus, si *per valetudinem* licuerit, legant, legisse Discipuli fidem faciant, si negotium sit, nonnisi potestate per Rectorem facta, munus omittant, secus si fecerint Floren. XX. quotiens cessarint mulctentur. *Præter*
 liceat nemini.

In Theologia de mane.

Flor. 150. Magister Johannes. Ord. S. Aug.

De sero.

Flor. 150. Magister Nicolaus de *Luna*.

Diebus festis, de mane.

Flor. 50. Magister Ciprianus Beneto.

De sero.

Flor. 200. Magister Ant.

In jure canonico, de mane.

Flor. 250. Dominus Michael Angelus de Pisis.

Flor. 200. Dominus Julius de Stephanutiis.

De sero.

Flor. 230. Dominus Sebastianus de Phedericis.

Flor. 200. Dominus Zaccharias.

Ad Lecturam Decreti.

Flor. 130. Dominus Jo. Antonius de Nobilibus.

Flor. 80. Dominus Jo. Baptista Vicentinus.

Ad extraordinariam diebus festis.

Flor. 100. Dominus Franciscus Castellanus.

Flor. 100. Dominus Jacobus de Phara.

Ad Lecturam Sexti.

Flor. 100. Dominus Antonius de Leonibus.

Flor. 100. Dominus Clemens de Cesis.

Ad Lecturam Clementinarum.

Flor. 100. Dominus Philippus Onessus.

In jure civili, de mane.

Flor. 250. Dominus de *Sancta Cruce*.

Flor. 200. Dominus Lanceloctus de Senis.

Flor. 120. Dominus Tiberius Manellus.

De sero.

Ducat. a. a. 300.

Flor. 150.

Flor. 100. Dominus de Sanguineis.

Ad extraordinariam, de mane.

Flor. 100. Dominus *Michael Conradus* de Tuderto.

De sero.

Flor. 80. Dominus Petrus Paulus de Parisiis de Cusentia.

Flor. 60. Dominus Petrus Sabinus.

Ad extraordinariam diebus festis, de mane.

Flor. 150. Dominus Marius Salomonius.

Flor. 80. Dominus Julius Cesar.

De sero.

Flor. 70. Dominus S. . . . de Aretio.

Flor. 50. Dominus Silvester S. . . Politianus.

Ad Lecturam Institutionum.

Flor. 200. Dominus Pirrho Senen.

Flor. 100. Dominus Jubentius.

Flor. 100. Dominus Archangelus de Patritiis.

Diebus festis, de mane.

Flor. 70. Dominus Sigismundus Dondolus.

Flor. 70. Dominus Lucas de Perleonibus.

De sero.

Flor. 70. Dominus Evangelista de Goris.

Flor. 50. Dominus Jacobus Carpinus de Firmo.

In Medicina theor. de mane.

Flor. 530. Magister Archangelus de Senis.

Flor. 100. Magister Bonifatius.

Flor. 230. Magister Johannes de Macerata.

Flor. 150. Magister Severinus de Spoleto.

De sero.

Duc. aur. a. 300. Magister Cristoforus.

Flor. 500. Magister Scipio de Lancelloctis.

Flor. 230. Magister Alexander de Spinosis.

Flor. 200. Magister Marius Scapucius.

Diebus festis, de mane.

Flor. 250. Magister Jo. Angelus de Victoriis.

De sero.

Flor. 70. Magister Jacobus de Præpositis.

Flor. 60. Magister R. . . . lo de Fabriano.

Ad Lecturam Praticæ, de mane.

Flor. 250. Magister Nicolaus de Doxio.

Flor. 230. Magister Jo. Baptista de Verallis.

De sero.

Flor. 400. Magister Bartholomeus de Pisis.

Flor. 150. Magister Joannes de Phara.

In Metaphisica.

Flor. 150. Magister Aug. p. . . . de Ve

Flor. 100. Magister Michael Angelus de Sanctis.

Ad Lecturam ordinariam Philosophiæ.

Duc. a. a. 300. Magister Augustinus de Sessa.

Duc. similes 200. Magister Johan. de Montes de hoc.

Flor. 100. Magister *Petr.* Nicolaus Cillenius.

Ad extraordinariam.

Flor. 130. Magister Bernardinus de Radicibus.

Flor. 130. Magister Sebastianus de Veteranis.

In Philosophia morali.

Flor. Magister Damianus.

Flor. 130. Magister Paulus Jovius.

In Logica.

Flor. 80. Magister *Jordanus* de *Scandrilia*.

Flor. 100. Magister Cesar Manellus.

Diebus festis.

Flor. 60. Magister Cinilius Campallus de Spoleto.

Flor. 60. Magister *Valerianus*.

In Astrologia.

Flor. 100. Magister Petrus de Aretio.

In Mathematica.

Flor. 120. Magister Lucas de Burgo Ord. Minor.

Flor. 70. Magister Antonius de Firmo.

In Rhetorica de mane.

Flor. 300. Dominus Thomas Phedrus.

Flor. 250. Dominus Philippus Beroaldus.

Flor. 250. Dominus Jo. Baptista Pius.

Flor. 250. Dominus Raphael Lippus.

Flor. 250. Dominus Julianus de Camerino.

Flor. 250. Dominus Antonius Amiterninus.

De sero.

Flor. 250. Dominus Baptista de Casalibus.

Ducat. 200. Dominus Janus Parrasius.

Flor. 180. Dominus Gallus.

Flor. 120. Dominus Vincentius Pimpinellus.

Flor. 150. Dominus Decius Sillanus.

Diebus festis, de mane.

Flor. 150. Dominus Camillus Portius.

Flor. 130. Dominus Joannes Darius Novarien.

Flor. 130. Dominus Donatus.

De sero.

Flor. 50. Dominus Michael de Fulgineo.

Flor. 70. Dominus Desiderius Sabinus.

Flor. 50. Dominus Jo. Julius Siculus.

Flor. 60. Dominus Leonardus *Mantuanus*.

In Græco, de mane.

Flor. 300 Dominus Augustus.

De sero.

Flor. 300. Dominus Basilius.

Diebus festis.

Flor. 300. Dominus Varinus.

Ad declarationem Simplicium Medicinæ.

Flor. 80. Magister Julianus de Fulgineo.

In Gramatica, pro Regione Montium.

Flor. 50. Magister Jacobus de Genezano.

Pro Regione Trivii.

Flor. 50. Magister Jacobus C. . . .

Pro Regione Columnæ.

Flor. 50. Magister Angelus de

Pro Regione Campi Martis.

Flor. 50. Magister Jo. Baptista de

Pro Regione Pontis.

Flor. 50. Magister

Pro Regione Parionis

Flor. 50. Magister Jo. Baptista de

Pro Regione Arenulæ.

Flor. 50. Magister Franciscus

Pro Regione S. Eustachii.

- Flor. 50. Magister Andreas
 Pro Regione Pineæ.
 Flor. 50. Magister Antonius
 Pro Regione Campitelli.
 Flor. 50. Magister
 Pro Regione S. Angeli.
 Flor. 50. Magister Angelus.
 Pro Regione Ripæ.
 Flor. 50. Magister
 Pro Regione Transtiberim.
 Flor. 50. Magister Julius
 Pro Reverendo Domino Rectore, Ducat.
 auri in auro papales 100.
 Pro quatuor Reformatoribus, Ducat. auri.
 in auro papales 100.
 Pro Notario Reformationum, Ducat. auri
 in auro papales 25.
 Flor. 100. pro Bidello.
 Flor. 25. pro Campana.

No. XC.

(Page 250.)

Sadoleti Epist. Pont. No. iii.

JOHANNI LASCARI.

DILECTE Fili. Cum hæc ad te scribenda mandavimus, jam fore existimabamus, ut tu, bona parte itineris confecta, ad nos appropinquare; tamen volumus has litteras ire tibi quasi obviam, significantes, te, quod scribis gaudere et gratulari vehementer hac amplificatione nostræ dignitatis, jure ac merito id agere: non enim amicio rem, vel tibi ipsi nominatim, vel iis artibus optimis atque honestissimis, quibus tu egregie præditus, atque ornatus es, audire potuisti sublatum esse ad summum fastigium tantæ potestatis. Quare, si Deus, cui omnia nostra semper accepta tulimus, nostris cogitatis

adfuerit, intelligent omnes boni, fortunam atque potentiam bene institutis mentibus rectisque animis dare facultatem benignitatis potius, quam temeritatis exercendæ. Sed hæc speramus nos coram propediem collaturos. Tu si valebis, nosque cito invises, rem pergratam nobis feceris. Datum Romæ anno primo.

No. XCI.

(Page 253.)

TRANSLATION of the Greek Verses prefixed by **MARCUS**
MUSURUS to the works of **PLATO**.

SPIRIT DIVINE, who 'midst thy kindred throng
Of sainted heroes sit'st, to whom 'tis given
To track the burning wheels that bear along
The great Creator o'er the deeps of heaven !
IMMORTAL PLATO ! from thy lofty sphere,
Revisiting again this genial earth,
Accept the volume we thy votaries bear,
The sacred work that owes to thee its birth.
Where, full displayed, we trace the mighty hand
Of him, the ONE great Architect ; unchanged
Who fills the void of space, and whose command
Th' empyreal orbs in eight-fold order ranged.
Suspended high, of all his works the chief,
The fix'd sun pours his unextinguish'd light,
Whilst seven inferior stars, in soft relief,
Shed their mild lustre o'er the shadowy night.
Or wondering mark th' unceasing central force,
Bound by whose chain the mighty whole revolves,
While unreluctant in its silent course,
Each in due time its fated round absolves.
Thence too the glorious hope that fires the soul
With secret longings for its heavenly home,
Spurns the dull bonds of earth, the base control
Of mortal fate, and lives beyond the tomb.

Nor uninstructed by thy sacred page,
We bid the city's towering ramparts rise,
By justice guard them, and by statutes sage
Define the bounds of right; with watchful eyes,
Whilst Shame and Punishment, immortal pair,
Protect the peopled haunts. But ah, what tongue
To number all the sacred truths shall dare
That breathe thy warm, inspiring page along?
Thou then accept the votive tome, and haste
To ROME's seven-crowned hills, where still resides
Imperial sway, and midst AUSONIA's waste
Rich TIBER rolls his fertilizing tides;
Not there a tyrant's scowling brow to meet,
Of Scylla born, who mocks the heavenly muse;
No Dionysius fierce; for there shall greet
Thy welcome presence He whom Europe views
With wondering awe, her pastor and her guide,
From great LORENZO sprung; the brightest star
Of MEDICEAN fame; with conscious pride
Whom his own FLORENCE hails; and from afar
The scepter'd rulers of the nations own,
And as their Lord obey; in towering state,
Imperial LEO named; who bears alone
The key that opes Olympus' lofty gate.
There, as the holy portals meet thy sight,
A friendly train around thy steps shall throng,
Accomplish'd bards, whom virtuous toils delight,
Lords of the lyre and masters of the song.
But two beyond the rest those precincts grace;
The first from GRÆCIA, of distinguish'd fame,
To whom, derived from LASCAR's noble race,
The triple-fronted God concedes his name.
'Twas he my infant steps with ceaseless care
Guarded, and loved me with a parent's love;
He bade me to the muses' hill repair,
And pointed out the glorious meed above.
Illustrious BEMBO next; whose honied tongue
Gives in three languages his thoughts to flow;

O'er whose blest birth the sister graces hung,
 And taught his mind with all their charms to glow.
 Be these thy guides ; and, to his presence brought,
 Thou, with submissive lip, his holy feet
 Touch reverent ; then, with sacred fervour fraught,
 In strains like these the mighty pontiff greet :
 " PASTOR REVERED, propitious be thy smile
 " O'er all thy flock, to earth's remotest ends ;
 " Nor thou refuse the offspring of his toil,
 " The Grecian tome thy duteous ALDUS sends—
 " Sends, but, in conscious independence bold,
 " A great remuneration dares to claim ;
 " Not silver high emboss'd, nor heaps of gold,
 " Nor splendid robes with purple tints that flame ;
 " But that thy hand might dash the fiend of war
 " That now relentless o'er EUGANIA's plain
 " Roams uncontroll'd, and drives his iron car
 " Thro' scenes of horror and o'er heaps of slain.
 " What heart so hard that would not melt to hear
 " The orphan's wail, the widow's piercing cry ?
 " Antiphates himself might drop a tear,
 " And Polyphemus heave a pitying sigh ;
 " Temples and domes a common ruin share,
 " The crackling harvests in the flame expire,
 " Whilst fierce barbarians, all unused to spare,
 " Glean the last relicks of destructive fire :
 " Calm thou their fierce contentions, MIGHTY CHIEF !
 " To peace, to love, thy erring sons restore ;
 " From thee let suffering nations find relief,
 " And bid contending monarchs rage no more.
 " Deep hid within his cavern's dark recess,
 " Too long has Mars the goddess Peace confined ;
 " Thou lead her forth, to harmonize, to bless,
 " And with her bounteous gifts enrich mankind.
 " Then turn the tide of war on TURKEY's shores,
 " And curb the wolf-like unbelieving band,
 " Whose tyrant empire, fainting GREECE deplures ;
 " Whilst, hovering now o'er IAPYGIA's strand,

- “ They threaten in degrading chains to bind
“ Thy sons, and banish the REDEEMER's name ;
“ But let them first thy ready vengeance find ;
“ On ASIA's shores let warlike myriads gleam.
“ There let the GAUL, in mailed armour bright,
“ Spur his proud steed, conspicuous from afar ;
“ HELVETIA's sons, on foot who urge the fight,
“ Sweep o'er the field, a sable cloud of war.
“ And they who joy to wield the glittering spear,
“ The bold IBERIANS, shall the battle grace ;
“ GERMANY's giant offspring too be there,
“ And, loved of Mars, BRITANNIA's hardy race ;
“ And all who yet survive the wasteful sword,
“ Italia's heroes, long in battle tried ;
“ All prompt to march thro' regions unexplored,
“ Scale the steep hill or stem the surging tide.
“ With these PÆONIA's tribes, the bow who bend,
“ Their feathery shafts oft tinged in Turkish blood ;
“ And VENICE there her countless fleets shall send,
“ Imperial VENICE, mistress of the flood.
“ SPAIN's floating battlements of mountain size
“ Tow'rd's the wide HELLESPONT their course shall steer,
“ And whilst the towering masts salute the skies,
“ Each warlike prow the healing cross shall bear.
“ Then o'er BYZANTIUM's towers if once again
“ The light of freedom dawn ; if then, repress
“ By thy victorious arms on GRÆCIA's plain
“ The poisonous dragon low'r his hateful crest,
“ 'Tis all achieved—for then, from bondage freed
“ ACHAIA's sons their ancient fires shall feel ;
“ Beneath their hands the barbarous foe shall bleed,
“ Or fly before their swift avenging steel.
“ And shouts of triumph, and victorious songs,
“ And grateful anthems, shall to heaven arise ;
“ And whilst around thee crowd the conquering throngs,
“ All ASIA's wealth shall glitter in thine eyes.
“ And clad in sounding arms, the warrior bold
“ Shall join the dance and share the social mirth ;

- " Revolving time a better age unfold,
 " And sacred justice, long estranged from earth,
 " Again return propitious ; nor in vain
 " Raise o'er the guilty head her awful sword ;
 " And all mankind beneath thy equal reign,
 " Enjoy the lasting peace by thee restored.
 " Haste, happier hours ! meanwhile with pleased regard,
 " Let drooping SCIENCE own thy fostering care ;
 " O let the studious but neglected hard
 " Thy favouring smile, thy liberal bounty share,
 " From GRECIA'S shores, from fair ITALIA'S clime,
 " Call thou their noble sons impatient forth ;
 " Ingenuous youths, who feel the glow sublime,
 " Of native genius or paternal worth.
 " And 'midst thy ROME a calm retreat provide,
 " Hid from the crowd ; but near the shelter'd home
 " Let the fair Naiads roll their constant tide ;
 " So may it emulate the far-famed dome
 " Of Grecian ACADEME : where once 'twas mine
 " To pour instruction 'midst the youthful band,
 " Imbue the generous breast with truths divine,
 " Retracing all that early culture plann'd.
 " These now no more remain—yet still survive
 " The latent sparks of learning's holy flame ;
 " O let thy breath its genuine glow revive,
 " Till each young bosom catch the lucid beam.
 " On TIBER'S banks ATHENIAN bands shall rove,
 " Nor mourn to quit ILYSSUS' favour'd strand ;
 " Surrounding thousands shall thy toils approve,
 " And give thy name to every distant land.
 " Through every clime, in every varied tongue,
 " The Rhetor's eloquence, the Poet's fire,
 " To future ages shall thy praise prolong ;
 " And but with time itself thy fame expire.
 " Too oft, forgetful of their trust divine,
 " Have former pontiffs burnt with warlike rage ;
 " But, by paternal maxims taught, 'tis thine
 " To heal the wounds of war and meliorate the age."

Thus by thy strain, IMMORTAL PLATO ! fired,
 Shall mighty aims engage his ardent mind ;
 Such once his father's glowing breast inspired,
 The friend of peace, the light of human kind.
 Then, whilst his wondering eye thy form shall trace,
 In full dilated majesty outspread ;
 The sacred features of thy beaming face,
 And ample honours of thy hoary head ;
 Awhile in pleased attention shall he bend,
 And to thy precepts yield a willing ear ;
 But now thy destined hour arrives—ascend
 And join the triumphs of the heavenly sphere.

No. XCII.

(Page 259.)

Platonis Op. ex Edit. Aldi, 1513.

ALDI PII MANUTHI AD LEONEM X. PONTIFICEM MAX. PRO
 REP. CHRISTIANA, PROQUE RE LITERARIA, SUPPLICATIO.

EST vetus proverbium BEATISS. PATER, languescere et alia membra, cum caput doléat. Verissimum id quidem in ægris corporibus, sed multo verius in moribus summorum virorum et principum, qui caput sunt populorum ; nam longa experientia compertum est, qualescunque principes fuerint, talem civitatem futuram ; quæcunque imitatio morum in principibus extiterit, eandem in populo secuturam. Quamobrem, cum primum creatus es Pontifex Max. tantam ceperunt voluptatem Christiani omnes, ut dicerent, prædicarent, affirmarent, alter alteri, cessatura brevi mala omnia quibus opprimimur ; futura bona quæ seculo aureo fuisse commemorant ; quandoquidem Principem, Pastorem, Patrem nacti sumus, qualem expectabamus, quo nobis miserrimis his temporibus maxime opus erat. Audivi ipse, meis auribus, illis ipsis diebus, ubicunque fui, omnes hæc eadem uno ore dicere, et prædicare ; nec vana fides ; multa enim sunt, quæ,

ut tantæ hominum expectationi respondeas, promittunt. Primum est, quam optime semper, et sanctissime ante acta vita tua a teneris usque ad Pontificatum. Secundum, familia Medicum clarissima, altrix semper magnorum virorum. Δοινὸς χαρακτήρ, κάπλσημος ἐν ἑροτοῖς ἐσθλῶν γενέσθαι. Hinc, ut taceam cæteros, ortus est Pater ille tuus Laurentius, vir optimus, ac tanta prudentia, ut non solum pacis patriæ, sed et totius Italiæ author fuerit, quandiu vixit; qui utinam et nunc viveret; bella enim, quibus paulo post ejus mortem cœpit ardere, et nunc maxime ardet Italia, ardet et tota fere Europa propter Italiam, vel nunquam fuissent, vel accensa, statim ut quamplurimi opinantur, Heros ille, gravis pietate, gravis et meritis, sua prudentia extinxisset, quemadmodum sæpe ab illo factum meminimus. O ter, quater damnosam! O semper dolendam, semper deflendam mortem! Sed ad hæc omnia una consolatio est; quod sicut paulo post mortem Patris tui, tanta incendia belli exorta sunt, sic te illius filio, creato Pontifice Max. brevi, tua opera, tuo unius studio, penitus extinguuntur. Tertium est ætas tua. Non enim sine numine Divum factum est, ut tu, nondum annum agens trigesimum octavum, Pontifex Max. crearere; posthabitis tot magnis patribus, tot summa veneratione dignis senibus. Quoniam enim composituro res Christianæ religionis, et correcturo mores hominum, qui ubique terrarum sunt, longa vita opus erat, te eum fore Deus voluit, Juvenem integerrima vita, et moribus ornatissimum, qui hæc omnia faceres longa die nullis succumbendo laboribus, nullis vigiliis. Οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὔδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα, ᾧ λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφαται, καὶ τόσσα μέμληε. Additur et illud, quod maximi faciendum est, tantum terrarum, tantum maris, tot varios populos, ante vel Romanis illis rerum dominis, nedum nobis, incognitos, inveniri ætate nostra, et subijci Christianis Regibus, ita, ut te Rectore Romanæ Ecclesiæ sperandum sit, unum futurum ovile sub uno pastore, eodemque optimo et pientissimo. Quapropter nunquam satis laudari potest Emanuel Rex Lusitaniæ invictissimus, qui multos jam annos nunquam desinit validissima classe novas terras, nova regna disquirere, *victorque beatos per populos*

dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo. Solvens enim Olyssippone, ac præteriens circulum Cancræ, Æquinoctiique et Capricorni proxime Antarcticum, tum vertens cursum, rursus circulum Capricorni Æquinoctiique transiens, totam Africam, ac bonam totius Asiæ partem circuit, itinere ad centies, ac quadragies et amplius centena millia passuum, devenitque in locum aromatum quam ditissimum, Callicutium appellatum, atque inde nuper, ad dexteram relicta Taprobane insularum maxima, devenit ad urbem nomine Malacen, populosissimamque, ac ditissimam, et plenam mercium, eamque difficillimo prælio victor, tandem expugnavit. At illi cognitis sacris nostris, visis Christianorum moribus, certatim baptizantur. O felicissimum Regem. O Heroem semper mirandum, colendum, extollendum in cælum laudibus, et nobis et posteris seculorum omnium. Atque utinam cæteri Christianorum reges idem facerent, nec inter se crudeliter bella gerendo, seipsos, ac potius miseros populus absumerent. *Quicquid delirant reges plæctuntur Achivi.* Nam paucis annis omnes homines ubique terrarum Deum verum cognoscerent, IN JESUM, Deum Opt. Max. constanter crederent, eumque solum supplices adorarent. Sed cognoscent, credent, adorabunt, te Pontifice. Cum enim tu, Pater, amare inter se filios tuos, nedum projicere tela manu, coegeris afflictisque populis succurreris, restituta pace, curabis debellandos Christiani nominis acerrimos inimicos; curabis homines, ubicunque terrarum incogniti lateant, disquirendos, ad eosque subactos mittes Apostolos tuos ad prædicandum illis Evangelium, ut sacris Romanæ Ecclesiæ instituti, soli Deo nostro serviant. En potes jam ab Indis incipere; potes ab aliis populis, quos in oceano occidentali Hispani superioribus annis invenere. Nec minor gloria servatur tibi BEATISS. P. instaurandis bonis literis; suppeditando optimos quosque libros studiosis, et qui nunc sunt, et qui post aliis erunt in annis, propagandis bonis artibus et disciplinis. Tentarunt hoc olim plurimi ex veteribus et Græci, et Latini, et Barbari, et quia mirum in modum profuere, consecuti sunt ex ea re gloriam sempiternam. Tentarunt et nonnulli ex junioribus non solum privati, ac mediocris fortunæ.

homines, sed et Pontifices Max. Imperatores, Reges, atque alii illustres; et, ut taceam cæteros, nonne plurimum juvit rem literariam Nicolaus V. Pont. Max.? nonne et parens tuus Laurentius? qui si diutius vixissent, multa essent in manibus, quæ non habentur, tum quæ habentur, facta fuissent eorum cura longe meliora. Debes tu igitur, illius magnus successor, hujus dignus filius, quod efficere illi morte præventi non potuerunt, perficere. Ego autem jamdiu hoc saxum volvo; qua in re, mihi quidem videor esse alter Sisyphus, quod nondum illud volvendo perduxerim in apicem montis; aliis autem, iisque eruditis, Hercules; quod nullis cedens malis, nullis succumbens laboribus, jam plus unus ipse juverim rem literariam, quam simul omnes, quotquot fuere multis seculis, ita me amant de tantis laboribus, ut nunc coram, nunc accuratis literis laudando obtundant. *Sed non ego credulus illis.* Nullum enim adhuc dedi librum, in quo mihi satisfecerim. Nam tanta erga bonas literas benevolentia est mea ut emendatissimos simul, et pulcherrimos esse cupiam libros, quos emittam in manus studiosorum. Quamobrem quotiescunque vel mea, vel eorum incuria, qui mecum corrigendis libris incumbunt, aliquo in libro quamvis parvus error committitur, etsi *opere in magno fas est obrepere somnum* (non enim unius diei labor hic noster, sed multorum annorum, atque interim nec mora, nec requies) sic tamen doleo, ut si possem, mutarem singula errata nummo aureo.

Damus igitur nunc Beatiss. P. quæcunque extant Platonis opera, idque sub tuo nomine felicissimo. Quod ob eam quoque causam fecimus, quia cum Marsilius Ficinus Domus tuæ alumnus, Platonis opera latina a se facta, Laurentio Parenti tuo dicaverit, quod sic foverit semper doctissimos quosque utriusque linguæ, ut Florentia et esset, et haberetur, vivente Laurentio, Athenæ alteræ, nos quoque tibi illius filio, eidemque Pont. Max. tum decori, et præsidio expectato hujus ætatis eruditorum, ejusdem Authoris libros, eosque Græcos atque Atticos, quales ipse composuit, merito dedicare volumus. Simulque ea in re, morem gessimus quibusdam Amicis nostris, amantissimis bonarum literarum, qui, etsi id mea sponte eram factururus, tamen amice me mo-

nuerunt, ut nulli magis, divini hominis lucubrationes, quam tibi, summo divinarum rerum Antistiti, nuncuparentur ; sperantes eam rem Academiae, quam tot annos parturimus, mirum in modum profuturam, ut scilicet nos foveas, provinciamque hanc nostram, maximi cujusque principis favore, ac auxilio dignissimam amplectaris, ac potius eam ipsam Academiam, sempiternum bonum hominibus, tu Pont. Max. in urbe Roma cures instituendam ; quorum unus, ac præcipuus est Musurus Cretensis, magno vir judicio, magna doctrina, qui hos Platonis libros accurate recognovit, cum antiquissimis conferens exemplaribus, ut una mecum, quod semper facit, multum adjumenti afferret et græcis, et nostris hominibus ; quapropter non minus quam nos pacem desiderat, æque ac nos et ipse, ut tuo sumptu, tuis opibus, fiat Academia rogat ; id quod ex ejus docta, et eleganti, ac gravi Elegia, græce composita, quæ statim post latinum indicem librorum Platonis sequitur, facile est cognoscere. Gratissimum præterea futurum tibi Platonem hunc nostrum nobis persuademus, cum aliis plurimis, tum etiam, quia cum multis jam seculis in plura dissectus membra vagaretur, nunc illis in unum corpus diligenter collectis, integer habetur cura nostra, idque per ordines quaternarios novem, quemadmodum in vita Platonis, Diogenes Laërtius, Thrasyllum secutus, memoriæ prodidit. Sed de Platone hactenus. Tu modo B. P. qui JESU CHRISTI DEI OPT. MAX. locum tenes, cuique commissa est cura populorum, curabis pro viribus, quæ tua est probitas, tua prudentia, tua pietas, PACEM, quam solam moriturus CHRISTUS tanquam testamento reliquit hominibus, habendam passim Christianis tuis, qui nunc inter se, Eheu, bella gerentes crudelissima, validas christianorum vires infesto ferro absumunt, quo graves Turcæ melius perirent.

Curabis inquam tu, communis omnium Pater, summa tua autoritate, sanguinolentos filios tuos componendos, hæc iterum atque iterum repetens, *Neu Juvenes, neu tanta animis assuescite bella, Projice tela manu populus meus.* Atque interim non minus, quam nos speramus, quod et græce et latine sis apprime doctus, favebis nobis tandiu, ac tantum pro re literaria laborantibus. Nam etsi Maximum videmur

attulisse adjumentum utrisque linguæ studiosis, tamen tanto majus allaturi sumus, te amplexante provinciam nostram, quanto major est Aldo LEO X. PONT. MAX.

No. XCIII.

(Page 260.)

Perotti Cornucopiæ, Ven. 1513.

LEO PAPA X.

UNIVERSIS, et singulis, ad quos hæ nostræ pervenerint, salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Quoniam dilectus filius Aldus Manutius Pius Romanus, qui jam tot annos pro virili de re literaria benemereri non cessat, in eoque genere, ac præsertim tum exacte emendandis, tum omni cura, et studio, imprimendis græcis latinisque libris, atque iis quidem literis in chalibem tam docte, eleganterque incisis, ut calamo scriptæ esse videantur, magnos sumptus facit, magnos labores sustinet, ac propterea veretur, ne sua hæc industria, et labor, aliis, qui inde capere exemplum possent, lucrum magno suo cum damno, pariat; Nobis humiliter supplicari fecit, ut ad eam rem pastorem curam nostram adjicere dignaremur. Nos igitur, qui literarum, et omnium bonarum artium studiosos, quantum in nobis fuit, semper fovimus, et amplexi sumus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, ut hominum ingenia ad honestiores, utilioresque rerum usus vel indagandos, vel inveniendos in dies magis excitentur, librique utriusque linguæ longe diligentius, emendatiusque in studiosorum manus emittantur; atque cum ipso Aldo, cujus doctrinam, et rectum ingenium, mirificamque diligentiam satis cognitam, et perspectam habemus, commode, benigneque agere cupientes; omnibus, et singulis, ad quorum notitiam præsentis nostræ pervenerint, sub excommunicationis, latæ sententiæ, in nostris vero, et S. R. E. civitatibus, terris, et locis degentibus, nobisque et dictæ ecclesiæ mediate, vel immediate subjectis, præterea quingento-

rum ducatorum auri, et amissionis omnium librorum, quos impresserint, incurrendis, Cameraeque nostrae Apostolicae applicandis poenis expresse inhibemus, ne per spatium quindecim annorum a tempore cujusvis libri tam graeci quam latini, quem ipse Aldus et antehac curavit et posthac curaverit imprimendum iis characteribus, quos ipse invenit, vel edidit primus, et quibus adhuc usus est, vel quos in posterum invenerit, imprimere, vel imprimi facere, neve characteres eos, quos cursivos, sive cancellarios appellant, imitari, et assimilatione adulterare, aut curare id per alios faciundum, librosque ejusmodi formis excudere, aut excusos venundare ullo modo praesumant; atque eas ipsas poenas incidere eos volumus, penes quos id genus libri venales reperirentur. Decernentes nihilo minus autoritate apostolica absque alia declaratione, omnes, quicumque contra inhibitionem hanc nostram facere ausi fuerint, antedictae excommunicationis sententiae obnoxios ilico fieri. A subditis vero nostris et S. R. E. ultra poenam excommunicationis ejusmodi, ab eis incurrendam pecuniariam etiam, et amissionis omnium librorum, ut praefertur, a Camera nostra Apostolica irremissibiliter exigi debere, ita que per praesentes decernimus. Atque, ut hujus inhibitionis, et decreti nostri ignorantiam praetendere nemo possit, universis, et singulis nostris, et Apostolicae Sedis Legatis, Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, et locorum Ordinariis, eorumque locum tenentibus, et Vicariis, Gubernatoribus, praeterea Praetoribus, et caeteris Officialibus nostris, qui praesentium nostrarum vigore fuerint requisiti, mandamus expresse, ut literas ipsas in locis consuetis ecclesiarum, diocesum, et administrationum suarum publicari faciant; ipsique Aldo pro consequendo effectu decreti, et inhibitionis hujus nostrae, ubi, et quoties opus fuerit, omni favore, et auxilio suffragentur, constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, caeterisque in contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscunque. Caeterum quia difficile admodum foret praesentes nostras ad singula loca deferri, volumus, atque decernimus, ut his ipsis literis in plura exempla typis excusis, et sigillo alicujus Legati nostri, seu personae in dignitate ec-

clesiastica constitutæ munitis ea prorsus fides adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus nostris, si exhibitæ, vel ostensæ forent, adhiberetur. Tum siquis harum nostrarum publicationem quovis modo impedire, seu obstare ne publicentur, seu publicatas et ubivis locorum de more affixas, lacerare, delereve, aut amovere, amoverive curare, idque scienter facere præsumpserit, eum volumus, et declaramus supradictæ excommunicationis poenæ itidem subjacere. Volumus autem, et Aldum ipsum in Domino hortamur, ut libros justo pretio vendat, aut vendifaciat, ne his concessionibus nostris ad aliam, quam honestum est, partem utatur, quod tamen eum pro sua integritate, atque in nos observantia curaturum plane confidimus. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub anulo Piscatoris, die XXVIII. Novembris. M. D. XIII. Pont. nostri anno primo.

P. BEMBUS.

No. XCIV.

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Hodius, de Græc. illustr. p. 255.

LEO P. P. X.

UNIVERSIS et singulis ad quos hæ litteræ nostræ pervenerint, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Studia litterarum et bonarum artium, quæ vitam humanam imprimis illustrare et excolere videntur, et antea, dum in minore fortuna essemus, semper fovimus, et postquam ad supremum hunc honoris locum divina providentia evecti sumus, de iis, quantum in nobis fuit, bene mereri nunquam cessavimus, facturi idem in posterum tanto libentius tantoque liberalius, quanto ingenia ad artes ipsas capessendas fieri propensiora et ardentiora cognoverimus. Cum itaque dilecti filii adolescentes Gymnasii nostri in Quirinali colle per nos constituti, Græcis artibus incumbentes, hanc antiquissimorum et nunquam antehac impressorum Homeri auctorum interpre-

tationem formis excudendam curaverint, Nos, considerata operis utilitate, et fructu maximo, qui ex tanti tamque illustris poetæ expositione ad studiosos perventurus est, et simul habita ratione laborum et impensarum, quos chalcographi in excudendum librum contulere, operæ pretium facere visum sumus, si ad eam rem juvandam favorem et auctoritatem nostram adjiceremus. Ne quid igitur in præjudicium Gymnasii fraudemque et detrimentum dictorum impressorum committat, volumus et mandamus ne quis eos ipsos auctores decennio proxime futuro imprimere, aut imprimi facere, aut impressos venundare, venundandosve dare ullis in locis sine licentia Gymnasii præfati, aut ejus curam gerentium. Qui contra mandatum hoc nostrum fecerit, admiserit, is universæ Dei ecclesiæ toto orbe terrarum expers excommunicatusque esto. Præterea libris et aureis quingentis ad arbitrium nostrum applicandis sine ulla remissione multator. Præcipientes universis et singulis archiepiscopis, episcopis eorumque vicariis, necnon nostris et S. R. E. officialibus, et quemlibet magistratum tam in alma urbe quam extra eam gerentibus, et aliis ad quos spectat in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ut præmissa ad omnem instantiam dicti Gymnasii ipsiusque rectorum faciant inviolabiliter observari, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die VII. Septembris MDXVII. pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

No. XCV.

(Page 264.)

Ex origin. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Baldassare da Pescia a Lorenzo de' Medici. Flor.

Ad la sua de xxii. giunta hiersera, non accade fare altra risposta salvo, che al pretio delli alumi, che ne scrive V. S. gli rispondo, che M. Augustino Chisi mi disse delli xxii. Carlini o ducato et mezo il cantare, et me lo ha replicato.

dipoi, tamen hiermattina, de commissione del Cardinale, io fui col prefato Augustino, et meco fu Averardo da Filicaia pure di sua commissione, et per obviare ad la necessit  grande, che s'intende esser li per al presente, se ne sono prese mille cantari ad ragione di ducati uno et mezo il cantare, et lo dicto Averardo ha preso la cura di provvedere sacchi, et barche, et quelle sara bisogno per supplire ad questa necessit  della Citt , et non attende ad altro, che sollicitare ea expeditione, et mandargli quanto pi  presto si pu , et non havemo facto altro accordo, ne instrumento, salvo che lo prefato M. Augustino   contento della fede di V. S. et non vuole, che di li se ne venda ad altri che a quelli del dominio, et questo se gli  promesso, et Monsignore Reverendissimo aspecta la Lettera di Jacopo Salviati, et se ad questo pretio non piacerranno la S. V. havera tempo ad pensarci, et contractare questa cosa con quelli vantaggi si potra ad causa, che al restante che la Citt  ha di bisogno si possa meglio vantaggiare, o pigliarlo per quello pretio, che Jacopo dice, che sarebbe bonissimo mercato, quando si potessino havere per li xvii, o xviii. Carlini il cantare, come V. S. ne scrive, &c. sicche D. V. deliberabit, et reddet me certiozem de omnibus, &c.

M. Augustino me dice, et me ha imposto, che per parte sua scriva ad V. S. come quella gli fece domandare uno Puledro da Morgante, &c. et che gli rispose, che sarebbe bene havessi aspectato, che havessi preso questa herba, et che al Paledro sarebbe stato meglio il venire dipoi, che innanzi, et che nondimeno lo facessi intendere ad V. S. che ne farebbe quello, che la volessi, et che mai poi ne ha inteso altro. Per la presente fa intendere ad V. S. che il Puledro, et lui sono al piacere suo, et quello che disse allora ad Morgante, fu per beneficio del cavallo, et non per altro. V. S. risponda quello vuole si faccia.

No. XCVI.

(Page 274.)

*Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lorenzo de' Medici. a Flor. Roma, xxvi. Martii, 1514.*

AD li di passati ve Scripsi, come el Generale di Valombrosa era stato misso in Castello per ordine di Nostro Signore; hora havendo inteso, che lo hanno solum appichato ad la fune per tirarlo su, et che lui ha confessato tra le altre cose haver facto adorare uno manico di rasoio per Legno di Croce, et certa falsità di Contracto, et innanzi che fussino le ruine di casa vostra, haver facto dia piu de uno anno, uno Psalmo, *Deus laudem meam ne tacueris*, &c. per farla ruinare, et altre cose di importantia, io, come quello che ho pensato, che simile cose meritano punitione grande, et ad minus, depositione dell' offitio, et parendomi questo esser cosa d' importantia in la Citta vostra, curiosamente, et come affectionato di V. S. sono stato questa sera ad longum cum Monsignore Reverendissimo, et domandatoli ad che termine erano le cose sue, et che io desideravo saperle per significarle ad V. S. La medisse, tu hai facto bene ad domandarmene, perchè te volevo imporre gliene scrivessi, et scrivegli, come io lo feci mettere in castello, et che hora mai ho molto bene giustificato le cose sue, et ha confessato di sorte, che io penso ad ogni modo farlo privare dell' offitio, et per obviare, che non si parli, et dica, che noi lo facciamo per avaritia, et per togli la Badia et entrate sue, io andavo pensando di fare unire quella Relligione di Vallombrosa ad la Congregatione di Monte Cassino, et smembrarne uno otto, o nove mila ducati, et li in Firenze edificarne una bella Chiesa di S. Giovanguualberto, o altro Santo loro, et parte unirne ad alchuni Monasteri che sono li, et di homini, et donne, che vi sono, che sono poverissimi, et si moiono di fame, et il resto da ducati in sù M. darli ad Monte Cassino,

che nonci doverranno fare difficultà, et riempieri et assettare in Firenze quelli poveri et povere che vi sono, ad futuram rei memoriam, &c. Et vi fa intendere, che questo è l'animo suo; nondimeno ha voluto, che voi lo sappiate, et che segretamente, et cum dexterità voi ne parliate cum alchuni de' quelli vecchi, et tritamente examiniate questa cosa, et qual fussi et sia la opinione vostra et loro gliene significiate; sicchè non ne parlerece, se non cum quelle persone, che vi parranno ad proposito vostro, advertendole, che non ne parlino con homo alchuno. Signore mio, questo mi è parso, et pare una cosa d'importantia grande, et quando non si facessi questo disegno di Monsignore Reverendissimo V. S. pensi, che se si ha ad fare Generale nuovo, come si farà di metterci uno, che sia ad proposito vostro, e se vi paressi, che M. Guerrino vostro, o alchuno altro fussi bono, pensici quella, perchè havere lì uno di chi voi ve ne possiate valere ad ogni vostra posta, et non ce lo havere, se importa assai, sendo la cosa d'importantia, come è; io dal canto mio di quà non cesserò andare pensando cosa che sia, se non per tornare in utilità, et commodo vostro, cum quella audacia, dexterita, et curiosità si ricerchano ad uno bono, et fedel servo, et non mancherò mai ricordarvi quello poco, che io cognoscerò, rimettendo mi però sempre in ogni cosa all' judicio, et parere vostro.

No. XCVII.

(Page 274.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

*Baldassare da Pescia a Lorenzo de' Medici. a Flor. Roma,
xvi. Junii, 1514.*

EL Dioscoride si fa diligentia di trovare, et essendocene lo haveremo, o quello, che V. S. domanda, o il migliore si trovi in Roma. Quella dica ad Philippo Strozzi, che Monsignore Guerrino fara transcrivere lo Hippocrate, che gli pro-

misse, et io lo solliciterò, et me ha promesso trovarre il Dioscoride, et servire Philippo.

Al Medesimo. 1 Julii, 1514.

El Dioscoride di Monsignore Scipione, secondi che mi dice Monsignore Guerrino, non è corretto, ma gliè ben qui in Roma uno, che ne ha uno antiquo, et bene correcto, ma non lo vuole dare per fora di Roma, et dice che quando V. S. lo volessi fare transcrivere qui, gli sarebbe concesso, altramente saria difficile haverlo; quella commetta quanto vuole la sene faccia, che non si uscirà di commissione.

NO. XCVIII.

(Page 295.)

Sadoleti Ep. Pont. No. 54.

LEO PAPA X.

Dilecto Filio Francisco de Rosis Rhavannali.

DILECTE Fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum multi, et quidem præstantissimi rerum scriptores, qui non sine gravissima latinæ linguæ jactura delitescebant, nostro tempore e profundissimis quasi tenebris in lucem prodierint, non possumus non majorem in modum studiosis gratulari. Nam inter ceteras curas, quas in hac humanarum rerum curatione divinitus nobis concessa, subimus, non in postremis hanc quoque habendam ducimus, ut latina lingua nostro pontificatu dicatur facta auctior, et bonarum artium cupidis ad maximos in disciplinas progressus, non mediocrem apportatam fuisse opem. Idcirco nulli parcendum ducimus impensæ, ut veteres scriptores ubique gentium diligentissime inquirantur, et ad nos deferantur. Sic enim fit, ut neminem sui laboris pœniteat. Multi sua sponte id oneris suscipiant, ut in remotissimas penetrent regiones ad antiquorum monumenta vel hominum invidia, vel temporum injuria suppressa, e tenebris eruenda; gnari conatus sui egregie præmia re-

portaturos. Ut tu nuper fecisti, dilecte fili, qui per tot barbaras, et dissonas gentes in Syriam usque, cum maximo dispendio, nec sine vitæ periculo parvenisti; neque id alia de caussa, quam ut a situ, immo interitu, nonnulla præstantissimorum Philosophorum scripta vendicares. Inter quæ quoddam opus, quod Aristotelis Theologia, seu Philosophia mystica inscribitur (sic enim libri titulus innuebat) quandoquidem egregia doctrina refertum Arabicis litteris scriptum, e Greco translatus deprehendisti: quod latinum factum, nobis grato admodum munere obtulisti; idque formis ad usum communem excludendum nostro etiam hortatu suscepisti. Qui ne irritus sit hic tuus labor, si statim post tuam editionem alii quoque excuderint, mandamus universis, et singulis per totum orbem terrarum ad quos hæ litteræ pervenerint, sub excommunicationis, latæ sententiæ, his vero qui in nostra hac S. R. E. ditione degunt, præterea sub ducentorum ducatorum tibi applicandorum, et librorum quos impresserint amissionis pœna, ne post tuam editionem per decennium proxime futurum usque audeant imprimere absque tuo consensu. Absolutionem vero omnium et singularium huic nostræ voluntati contravenientium, nobis tantummodo reservamus; atque iisdem pœnis et imprimentes, et impressa volumina vendentes teneri volumus. Ne autem contra nostram hanc inhibitionem audeat quispiam contumaciter insurgere, mandamus et præcipimus universis, et singulis Apostolicæ Sedis Legatis, Nunciis, Oratoribus, Patriarchis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prælatisque omnibus Ecclesiasticis, nec non eorum locum tenentibus, tum locorum omnium Gubernatoribus, ac Præsidentibus, et copiarum Ductoribus in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, et sub ejusdem excommunicationis incurrendæ pœna, ut requisiti abs te, omni auxilio prohibeant, ne quis contra nostrum edictum per prædictum Decennium audeat innovare. Ceterum, si quis tam audax, ac temerarius esset, qui nostras has litteras vel divulgari prohiberet, vel divulgatas, ex locis sacris, aut profanis amoveret, earundem pœnarum sit reus. Constitutionibus, et ordinationibus apostolicis, ceterisque quibuscumque contrariis non obstantibus. Datum Romæ

apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die xxx. Decembris. MDXVII. Pontificatus nostri an. v.

JACOBUS SADOLETUS.

No. XCIX.

(Page 300.)

Exempl. in Biblioth. Vaticana.

Epistola Potentissimi ac Invictissimi Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ et Algarbiorum, &c. de victoriis habitis in India et Malaccha. Ad S. in Christo Patrem et Dominum nostrum, Dominum Leonem X. Pont. Maximum.

SANCTISSIMO in Christo Patri, ac Beatissimo Domino, Domino Nostro, E. S. additissimus **filius** Emanuel, Dei gratia Rex Portugalliæ et Algarbiorum, **citra** ultraque mare in Africa Dominus Guineæ et conquestæ navigationis, ac commercii **Ethiopiæ**, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atque Indiæ, humillima beatorum pedum oscula. Quantum Deo Opt. Max. quantum et tibi gratulari debeamus, Beatissime Pater, vel ex nuntio quod nostra Indica classis proxime attulit satis apparet. Quod enim te Pont. Max. te S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Christiano Orbi presidente, tam admiranda in Dei laudem ac gloriam gesta, tam ex voto successerint, tua certe laus tua gloria censi debet. Jure itaque visum est, quæ in India, Dei suffragio, ad ipsius cultum spectantia, nostris armis modo facta sint, ad tuam Sanctitatem, utpote totius Christianæ Reipublicæ caput et orthodoxæ religionis normam, carptim ac summatim, ne stilum Epistolarum excédamus, præscribere, ut pro rerum dignitate cuncta pensari, summoque Deo accepta referri valeant, ac indies sui Sanctissimi Nominis gliscentem laudem Christianique dogmatis propagationem facile speremus. Igitur pacata, post plures dubii Martis victorias non sine labore et sanguine partas, India, relictis in ea opportunis præsidiis Alphonsus de Albicherque protho-capitaneus noster, ut jacturam, quam superioribus annis

nostri fecerent, injuriamque ulcisceretur, auream Chersonesum, Malacham accolæ appellant, contendit; ea est inter Sinum magnum et Gangeticum sita, Urbs miræ magnitudinis, utque vigintiquinque millium et amplius larium censeatur, terra ipsa fecundissima, ac nobilissimarum quas fert India mertium feracissima, celebratissimum ob id Emporium, ubi non modo varia aromata et omnigeni odores, sed Auri quoque, argenti, margaritarum ac preciosorum lapillorum magna copia affluit. Hanc Rex Maurus gubernabat, eate- nus vires suas Maumetica Secta protendente, cætera Gen- tiles tenent. Huc itaque cum instructa classe applicuisset Alphonsus, urbem oppugnare destinat; quod præsentien- tes Sarraceni, bello se multis munitionibus et armis præ- paraverunt, sed frustra; nam commisso bis prælio, nostri tandem, Dei auxilio, superiores plurimis ex hostibus cæsis urbem vi intrant, occupant, data prædæ libertate, diripi- unt, incendunt. Rex ipse, qui ex Elephante pugnabat, graviter vulneratus, cum superstitibus Mauris fuga sibi con- sultuit. In ea pugna magnus hostium numerus exiguo nos- trorum damno interiit; capti plures; magna etiam ablata spolia, in quibus et septem ipsius Regis bello assueti Ele- phantes, suis turribus, sericis, atque auro intextis ephip- piis, illius Provinciæ more muniti, ac æneorum omnis ge- neris tormentorum ad duo millia summa arte fabricata. Cap- ta sic urbe, hostibusque profligatis, quo nostræ rei tutius consuleretur, in fluminis ripa quod mediam urbem interfluit, hoste ubivis terra marique subacto, undique suæ securitati prospiciens, munitissimam arcem murorum quindecim pe- dum latitudine construxit, ex lapide videlicet qui ex dirutis Saracenorum quas Mosquitas vocant ædibus excerptus est. Mirabilis profecto divina providentia, quod ubi tanto tem- pore Maumeticæ perfidiæ cultus celebratus, ubi Redemp- toris nostri nomen toties blasphematum, inde occulto Dei consilio, magna sua laude, Sathanæ dedecore, qui tanto la- bore ac nostrorum sanguine tamdiu pro Catholicæ Fidei aug- mento affectamus, huic ædificio et Christianis tam necessario operi opem acceperimus. Erant eo tempore Malachæ plu- res extranei ac diversarum nationum mercatores, scilicet

Zamatri, Pegui, Janæi, Goræi, et ab extremo oriente atque ultima Sinarum regione Chines, alique Gentiles, qui urbem commertii gratia frequentes, multis divitiis, auro, argento, margaritis, et pretiosis lapillis, serico etiam vellere ac multifariis aromatibus et odoribus, affatim replent. Ii cum multis quoque finitimis, ab Alfonso fœdus et amicitiam ultro flagitantes, ab ipso et benigne et favorabiliter sunt accepti, pactoque commertii et mercaturæ tractatu, suas negotiationis domos circum arcem ubi tutius versari possent secum transtulere, mutuo fœdere adeo læti, ut quamvis hactenus illud emporium omnium fuerit celeberrimum, deinceps tamen, si fieri poterit, multo majus ac celebrius futurum existimetur; quin et ipsi Chines nuntium ad nos mittunt, a quo perfectius res suas intelligamus. Atque adeo tam hi, quam cæteri urbis accolæ, dicto audire, imperatisque legibus parere non recusarunt, ut Reip. regiminis justitiæque officiales nostro nomine Alfonsi manu acceperint, quorum iudicio et arbitrio gubernantur, simul et monctam nostro ibi nomine causam tanquam Regis Dominique sui agnoscentes, excipiunt, et expendunt, auream catholicos mille scilicet nummorum, argenteam centum valere Malachenses inscripsere: Hæc cum cognovisset Rex de Ansia, et gente et solo Orientem versus potentissimus, ad quem fama erat jure Malacham spectare, et a Mauris olim usurpatam, Legato ad Præfectum nostrum destinato, qui se suaque, nostro manciparet obsequio, auream simul craterem cum pretioso magnæque existimationis carbunculo, enseque auro adfabre elaboratum, in signum videlicet recognitionis, ac veræ perpetuæque futuræ amicitiae dono misit; ad quem Præfectus aliquos e nostris expertos vafrosque viros intima regionis scrutaturos cum multis etiam muneribus remisit, unde maximum Dei obsequium et Catholicæ Fidei augmentum fore non dubitamus. Rebus sic apud Malacham compositis, et obfirmato tractato commertii fœdere, relicto in arce tormentis, machinisque, munitissima sexcentorum etiam virorum ac strenuorum militum securo præsidio, et classe ad maritimæ oræ tutelam viris armisque optime instructa, Alfonsus in Indiam revertens, Goæ Urbis præcipuam arcem, quam

ipse superioribus annis magno nostrorum periculo, sed majore hostiū strage occupaverat, nostræque ditioni et imperiō adjunxerat, a Mauris obsessam reperit, extructa etiam juxta alia firmissima arce, unde ruebant Turchorum manus quæ sex millia nostros continue infestabant: quos cum adoriretur Præfectus plurimis jam trucidatis, desperata salute, pacta tantummodo corporum incolumitate, se tandem ac reliqua nostris dedidit, partisque et ibi machinarum, equorum, armorum et hujusmodi haud contemnendis spoliis, quibusdam etiam qui inter Mauros reperti sunt Apostatis qui a fide nostra desciverant, debito afflictis supplicio, urbem pristinae quieti restituit. Appulerat interea Dabuli urbi haud procul a Goa, Presbyteri Joannis potentissimi Christicolarum Domini ad Præfectum nostrum Legatus, qui ejus nomine ut Christiani Christiano omnem opem, omnia ad bellum contra Catholicæ fidei hostes opportuna, militum exercitus, armorum ac commeatus præsidia, ultro offerat: præsertim si mare rubrum, suo conjunctum dominio, nostra classis trajiciat, ubi commodissime utriusque vires jungi possent. Haud exiguum adorandæ et veræ Crucis lignum ad nos mittit, viros vafros et industrios poscens, quorum ingenio et artificio a Sultani territorio et regione, Nilum deflecti atque diverti posse existimat. Aderant tunc apud nostrum Prefectum a Narsingue Rege Legati, Rege Gentili adeo potentissimo, ut mille et quingentos belligeros Elephantes, armatorum Equitum quadraginta millia, præter innumerum peditum numerum, suo arbitrio, in aciem parvo negotio proferre, tantumque agri possidere perhibeatur, quantum semestri itinere vix emetiri possit. Huic plures Reges ac Satrapes parent, quorum nonnulli, maritimis oris proximi, nobis sunt tributarii. Apud Alfonsum et Cambayæ Regis Legatus, terra marique potentissimi, atque inter Mauros maximi, item a Zabayo Goæ quondam domino, atque a Rege Grosapa, alique complures Regum Satrapumque Legati a nostro Præfecto, fœdus pacemque ultro exorantes ac sua munera singuli afferentes. In hac etiam quæ proxime appulit classe ab Armusii Rege Legatus, cum multis margaritarum rerumque pre-

tiosarum donis, in signum videlicet fidelitatis et recognitionis ad nos venit. Hunc Regem Alfonsus idem, urbe opulentissima et præcipuo emporio Armusio vi capto, quindecim millium Seraphinorum, ea est aurea moneta ducatis equivalens, annum nobis tributarium effecerat. Inter hos successus, Pater Beatissime, Divino suffragante numine, per universam Indiam plurimi Spiritus Sancti gratia igneque afflati, depositis gentilitiis erroribus, in dies ad nostram religionem conversi, veram Dei fidem agnoscunt, ob quæ Deo Opt. Max. summæ gratiæ sunt merito referendæ: quod tam procul a nostro Orbe, in tam remotis regionibus, quo ne fama quidem Sui Sanctissimi Nominis penetraverat, nostra nunc sedula opera, suam veram fidem, cultumque celebrari, publicari, ac propagari dignatus sit: unde proculdubio, Divina favente clementia, sperandum est, cum nunc Præfectus noster ad Mare rubrum, ut ejus ostio occupato, Saracenæ earum partium commertia interdicat, relictis in India opportunis præsidiis, ingenti classe properat ut ubi conjunctis sub Crucis vexillo Presbyteri Joannis nostrisque viribus, maximum Dei obsequium, et Maumeticæ sectæ detrimentum et ignominia sequatur, extremaque Orientis ora, quo et sacras Apostolorum voces intonuisse compertum est, Occidentali nostræ propediem jungatur, et ad veri Dei cultum, ipsius suffragante numine, traducatur; S. Sedi Apostolicæ ac tuæ Sanctitati, ut optimo pastori Christiani gregis more debitum, obsequium et obedientiam oblatura. Bene valeat Beatitudo tua, quam pientissimus Deus diu ac felicissime conservare et augere ad votum dignetur. Datum in Urbe nostra Olisipone, 8, idus Junias, Anno Domini M. D. xiii.

No. C.

(Page 301.)

*Aurelii Sereni Monopolitani Op. Rom. 1514.**De aliis muneribus cum Elephante et Leopardo a Rege
Emanueli ad Leonem X. Pont. Maximum dono missis :
Aurelii Sereni Monopolitani elegiacum carmen.*

NON tibi sat fuerat divo misisse Leoni
 Hoc ingens animal, quod novitate placet ;
 Est ingens, fateor, quamvis deformius esset,
 Id tamen ingenio non caruisse putes.
 Sic natura jubet nihil omni ex parte beatum ;
 Una hic dote viget, qua minus ille viget.
 Hoc tamen ornasti pulchro tu munere munus
 Huic dono junctus nam Leopardus adest.
 Distinctus maculis, visu pulcherrimus ille est,
 Omne decus variis rebus inesse solet.
 Digna ministeriis Rex optime munera sacris
 Misisti nostro Pontificique simul.
 Altaris tegmen gemmis decoratur et auro
 Ampla sacerdotis fit tunica atque nitens.
 Adduntur geminæ pro binis inde ministris,
 Magnum auri pondus quæ preciosa valet.
 Hæc preciosa quidem sunt munera, qualia nulli
 Pontifici a quoquo Rege fuere data.
 Per flores et aves magnis texuntur elencis
 Quos varius rutilans undique jaspis habet.
 Cernitur Emanuel frons et tua grata voluntas,
 Sed dicas tanto dona minora Deo.

Joannis Capitonis Aretini Elegia ad eundem Elephantem.

Si te Elephas Lybico credas servire Leoni,
 Falleris : e cœlo decidit iste Leo,
 Hic tuus est Dominus, terrarum gloria prima,
 Tergeminum decorat cui diadema caput,

Inter mortales plusquam mortalis habetur :
Claudere cui fas est et reserare polum.
Si servire Deo vere est regnare, Leoni
Dum servis, regnas; nam Leo in orbe Deus.
Forsitan hic inter cœli te signa locabit,
Quando inter superos ille relatus erit.
Quid natale solum patriasque revisere silvas
Plus cupias? sedes est sacra Roma Deum,
Non tu Parthorum regum male fida subibis
Tecta, sed heroum cœlicolumque lares.
In Vaticano cum tu stabulabere colle,
Delicias orbis jure tenere putes.
Fertilitate locus pomorum et vere perenni,
Hesperidumque hortos præstat et Alcinoi.
Quid memorem dulces auras, cœlumque salubre?
Elysia hic credas arva colenda piis.
Si te religio, Venus alma, et gloria tangunt,
Religio hic regnat, gloria, et alma Venus.
Bellandi studiis si flagres Martis et æstro,
Romuleam hanc urbem Martia turba colit.
Hac socia, invicti auspiciis, ductuque Leonis,
Ad Latios referes clara trophea Deos.
Læta triumphalis ductabis fercula pompæ,
Vel Capitolino plaustra superba Jovi.
Vive diu hic lætus dans omina fausta Leoni,
Vescere cum Domino nectare et ambrosia;
Schoenobates fias; varios disce edere ludos,
Quis dominum curis mille levare queas.
Sic Latio poteris gratissimus esse Tonanti,
Atque auram populi conciliare tibi.
Ne meditare fugam; quod si moriaris in urbe,
Non poteris fato nobiliore mori.
Pontificem in summum testabere Regis amorem,
Cum magna et sancta fœdus amicitia.
O felix animal, fausto sub sydere natum,
Quod tam nobilitant Carmina, Roma, Leo.

IA. MANIUS PHILÆNUS.

Quos Capitolinum juvit meminisse theatrum,
 Qualiter est procerum res agitata virum,
 Huc adeant, docti relegant monumenta Sereni;
 Spectabunt oculos ceu foret ante suos.

VITALIS.

Tam bene succedit Syculo bonus iste Poeta
 Ut mereat Succuli nomen et ingenium.
 Hic Elephas Vates ea carmina quæ tibi cudit,
 Nil nasi, et multum nasi Elephantis habet.

No. CI.

(Page 302.)

Exempl. in Biblioth. Vatican.

*Dieghi Pacecchi Jur. Consult. In prestanda Obedientia
 pro Emanuele Lusitanorum Rege Invictiss. Leoni X.
 Pont. Opt. Max. dicta Oratio.*

ELOQUAR an sileam? Quis enim obsecro vel consummatis-
 simus Orator, P. B. quæ tanta ingenii aut facundiæ felici-
 tas, ne dicam esse, sed animo concipi potest, quæ ante
 Augustissimum tui acerrimi judicii Tribunal, apud Majes-
 tatem tuam, in sublimi Solio, ac solidissima Petri Petra,
 divina unanimique omnium sententia sedentem; inter Sacro-
 sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardines firmissimasque Colum-
 nas, ac tot clarissima mundi lumina, quasi Solem inter
 sua sidera micantem; in tanta prestantissimorum virorum
 corona, celeberrimoque totius Orbis theatro, de re tam
 ardua tamque difficili, non dicam verba facere, sed mutire
 quidem aut hiscere ausit? Quæ sane res, si ulli unquam
 in hoc sacro Conventu dicturo difficilis visa est, mihi qui-
 dem eo majorem difficultatem afferre debet, quod homo
 peregrinus, nullo dicendi, nulloque eloquendi studio sim ex-

cultus, sed rudis adhuc, et Transalpini sermonis, situ squalidus, crassoque (ut ille inquit) sub aere natus. Venerunt profecto timor et tremor super me, et contexerunt tenebræ. Quid igitur faciam? tacebo ne? Sed urget me parendi necessitas. An justissimi Regis, Dominique mei dicto non audiam, qui sanctissima Dei præcepta libens audire, seque ac sua omnia eidem dicare semper consuevit? An illius imperio non obediam, qui et ipse ultro obediens nos cum obedientia ad te mittit? An optimi, ac religiosissimi Principis tam sancto desiderio refragabor, qui ut tua lumina supplices adiremus, tuosque Sanctissimos Pedes exosculemur, non sumptui, non impensæ, non laboribus pepercit? In tanto fluctuantis animi æstu hærerem proculdubio, P. B. nisi Serenus iste, Divinusque Vultus tuus, discusso mentis nubilo, omnes jam difficultates pervinceret, quo nos usque adeo recreas, ut tuo velut numine, sinceram Principis nostri mentem, purissimum cor, præcipuam fidem, singularem observantiam, atque hilarem offerentis animum jam perpendisse videaris, neque ex verborum inopia, sed ex animi copia rem metiri, majoremque bonæ voluntatis, quam culti sermonis habere rationem. Quare tuis jam auspiciis, B. P. Scenissimi Regis nostri Emanuelis mandata paucis explicabo, ut quam tuæ Sanctitatis auribus molestiam forte hac barbara mea elocutione attulero, eandem ipsam Orationis saltem compendio rependam. Sed unde ordiar? quid primum exquar? Equidem divinas tuas laudes, æternasque virtutes aggressurus, novam quandam pati videor ex copia inopiam. Ita dicere conanti certatim se se ingerunt, ita quælibet festinabunda occurrens, primum apud te locum sibi vindicare gestit, adeo quidem ut invicem se se ipsas eo concursu impedian et obturbent. Cogitanti etenim mihi preclara Justitiæ munera, quæ ad amussim et æqua lance cuncta perpendis, quæ ut cæterarum Domina et Regina se primum offert, reclamation ejus socia Clementia, ac velut tibi peculiaris et propria, præferri miris modis expostulat. Dicturum de singulari Prudentia, qua perpetuæ vitæ lineam tam bene duxisti, non patitur Fortitudo, quæ te interritum, ac summa florentissimarum virtutum cacumina, Leonino more, affectantem,

fortissime simul et felicissime, Leo, tot laboribus, tot fortunæ fulminibus sola virtute superatis, in ipso ætatis flore (quod vix alteri contigit) ad eminentissimum rerum fastigium evexit. Cæteras vero contemnit, nullique cedit Temperantia, cum posthabitis voluptatum illecebris, toties de te ipso pulcherrime triumphaveris. Gravitas quoque quæ potissima laus in Principe est, nec lento quidem gradu, ut te sibi quasi suum vindicet, procedit, cum tamen Benignitas longo illam intervallo anteire conatur. Certat cum Frugalitate Liberalitas, neque ei quidem concedere, aut hoc in certamine liberalis esse deliberat. Verum ipsa Dei præpotentis Religio, recteque vivendi Ratio sanctissima, quæ cæteros mortales semper præstitisti, merito quidem te totum possidere, sibi que primas ab reliquis deferri debere, summo studio contendit. Ita virtutum quæcumque prior occurrat, illi cæteræ aliæ quasi invidentes sese opponunt, magnaque vi obstant. In quibus profecto recensendis, cum impediat turba delectum, cumque ego neque eo ingenio sim, neque ea eloquentia, qui illarum magnitudinem, quæ in te uno suum collocasse domicilium videntur, efferre possim, illis prætermisiss, quæso obtestorque te, P. B. ut pro tua humanitate, dum demandatum mihi pensum absolvere pro viribus adutor, quæ dicturus sum æquis auribus benignissime excipias. Venimus igitur, Potentissimi Regis Nostri Emanuelis, filii tui devotissimi jussu atque imperio, ad Sanctissimos pedes tuos, ejus nomine, Apostolico Throno, ac tuæ Sanctitati de more gratulaturi; Deo imprimis gratias agentes, quod eum huic Sanctæ Sedi, ac Petri naviculæ Gubernatorem præfecerit; qui ut novit regere, ita et velit et possit. Venimus ab ultimo Lusitaniæ recessu, ut te Dei Vicarium, Christianæ religionis Summum Antistitem, unicum Rom. Ecclesiæ, gregisque Domini Pastorem, veneremur, colamus, atque in tuo nomine Christum, cujus vicem geris, adoremus. Venimus publice privatimque tuæ Sanctitati, ab utroque Orbe nostris jam armis convincto, obedientiam ac vere recognitionis signa præstituri. Neque ea quidem solita et antiqua, P. S. sed nova, ac multo majora tibi afferimus: Et quæ ad sanctissimam contra Christi hostes expeditionem in Sacro Lateranensi Con-

cilio, quod ad id potissimum tam recte quam sancte continuare instituisti decernendam, non solum attineant, sed vel maxime impellant. Nam ut Lusitanorum retro Principum domi forisque pro Christiano Imperio studium ac gesta omittam, utpote universo Orbi satis jam superque satis nota, ut admirandam Manicongrii Regis cum innumero populo, Regis inquam totius Æthiopiæ maximi ac potentissimi, non sine Divino ministerio, sedula tui Emanuelis opera ad Christum conversionem silentio præteream, cujus nova obedientiæ munera, non multo post, primus videbis, primusque excipies, quid de nostrorum Indica expeditione, belloque, quod in Oriente magnis animis geritur, existimandum est? Licet enim ad mei Regis famam, meæ Patriæ decus, Lusitanique nominis æternitatem spectet, haud tamen silendum est Opus divinum potius quam humanum, Opus ante sæcula nostra nescio inspiratum, an verius desperatum, Opus quo impius ille Maumetes, ejusque præcipua sedes, Sarracenorum caput, Mecha, in hanc usque diem Christianis armis inaccessa, nobis nunc, divino suffragio, pervia, non sine magno sanguinis pretio reddita est. Nam quod tam longe, tanto terræ marisque tractu, ultra centum stadiorum millia, nostra arma, victricesque manus protendantur, tam immensa Oceani vastitate enavigata, tot insanis tempestatibus superatis, tot laboribus exantlatis, expugnata pene ipsa rerum natura, nec id quidem impune, multa enim nostrorum corpora ipsi indignanti Oceano devoranda, monstrisque marinis in escam dantur, (pretiosa sane, ac summo præmio digna sepultura, quæ sui Dei amore, suæ fidei zelo, sui Regis imperio, suæ Patriæ gentisque studio, pulcherrime paratur) quod tot Reges, ac Satrapæ gentis numero, rerum opulentia munitissimi, classe potentissimi, nostra arma viresque sentiant, eorumque potentia a nostris, quamvis numero imparibus, sæpe retinenda, multoties confracta, sæpius attrita; quod tot Provinciæ subactæ, tot populi sub jugum missi, tot Nationes in potestatem redactæ, nec ipsa modo oppida et opes, sed multorum quoque animæ recuperatæ, qui a perpetuo Maumeticæ servitutis jugo liberati, veram Dei fidem agnoverunt; quod memoratissima alterius quondam Orbis terrarum credita Tapro-

bane, multis antea sæculis incognita, nec minus expetita quam celebris, nobis jam sit familiaris; quod celeberrima illa Aurea Chersonesus, Regiaque ejus Malacha, nostris subacta armis, jura legesque nostras acceperit; quod plurimi Reges, ac minime aspernandi Principes, audita Lusitanorum fortitudine, ultro foedus et amicitiam per Legatos expostularint, munera etiam, et ea quidem pretiosissima dono dederint; quod maximus ille, potentissimusque Princeps, Presbyter Joannes, sua arma nostris junxerit, veræ adorandæque Crucis haud exiguum lignum tuo Emanueli miserit, totiusque sui Regni vires contra Catholicæ fidei hostes libere quidem obtulerit; nonne hæc omnia P. S. ductu opera auspiciisque tui Emanuelis, in Christi jam peculium recensenda, atque in Sanctæ Ro. Ecclesiæ Patrimonium sunt referenda? Sed quo ego illud piaculo præteream Sanctiss. Leo, quod nuper hoc anno Invictiss. idem Rex noster felicissime in Africa gessit, nihili estimans, quod variis hinc inde bellis, hinc ex Asia, inde ex Africa ageretur, ut magno apparatu bellico, maximaque instructa classe, Illustris magnanimique Bragantiæ Ducis, Sororis Filii, virtute ac robore animi, et fortissimorum militum ardore, non fere prius instructam aciem in Africam transmiserit, quam de hostibus triumphaverit; Azamor Mauritaniæ urbem, loci situ et soli ubertate insignem, ac totius Regni quasi caput, tantopere a Christianis et frustra tentatam, expugnaverit; mox Almedinam orthodoxo nomini infestam, et cunctis affluentem divitiis, aliaque oppida munitissima, compluraque loca opulentissima, suæ ditioni suoque Imperio felicissime adjecerit. Cujus rei gaudium duo tintinnabula, indigna olim ex Christianis trophæa, in Urbe Azamor reperta, mirifice testata sunt, quæ antiqui non oblita soni, magno Christiani nominis dedecore, tot annos suppressa, insperato nunc quasi postliminio divinas laudes quotidie resonant, et quo diutius conticuere, eo clariore sonitu lætius jucundiusque exultant, tum in gratulationem restitutæ libertatis, tum in contemptum perfidi Maumetis ac superbi Sathanæ, qui ibidem cum diris devotionibus (horrendum dictu) in Christianum nomen, indignissime colebantur, nunc autem illorum dedecore vera Dei fides, vera

laus, vera gloria sciscitatur, agnoscitur, prædicatur. Magna hæc sunt P. B. signa, et (ut verius loquar) certissima Dei promissa. Dominaberis profecto, dominaberis a mari usque ad mare, et a Tyberi usque ad terminos Orbis terrarum. Reges Arabum et Sabæ dona adducent, et adorabunt te omnes Principes, et omnes gentes servient tibi, tibi serviet ultima Thule. Quid enim jam sperandum est, nisi extremam illam orientis oram, quo vix fama quidem Christiani nominis pervenerat, nostræ Occidentali conjunctam, et ad veri Dei fidem cultumque traductam, propediem Tuæ S. ut Optimo Pastori Christiani gregis, novam obedientiam ac debitum obsequium præstituram, ut Indo ac Gange, Tago ac Tyberi, in eundem velut alveum coactis, tuisque auspiciis concorditer fluentibus, fiat unum Ovile, et unus Pastor. Age igitur B. P. quod te jam mente ista altissima evolvere credimus, tantam bene gerendæ rei occasionem amplectere, aggredere hanc tam claram provinciam, Magnanime Leo, dignam Principe, dignam Pontifice, dignam inquam Leone, Orthodoxæ religioni salutarem, Deo Opt. Max. gratissimam. Quid enim Servatori nostro Christo Jesu acceptius efficere potest ejus Vicarius, quam infinitas pene animas, perpetuo barathro demergendas, in viam salutis dirigere? Quid Sedi Apostolicæ et Christianæ Reipub. commodius, quam membra Ecclesiæ suo capiti restituere? Tuum est P. S. æstantis Petri naviculæ naufragio subvenire; tibi hæreditarium fluenti Populo mederi, et Christianam Rempub. tot procellis, tot sævissimis tempestatibus tam diu jactata, tuo salutifero ac pretioso pharmaco, peculiari quodam gentis Medicæ jure medicari. In te omnis ægrotantium spes alioqui inclinata recumbit. Tu publicæ saluti remedium adhibe. Verum, verum inquam Leonem indue, pervigila, aut oculis adapertis somnum in hac navicula, quod Leoni de suis Catulis sollicito peculiare legimus, captabis, in qua non somniculose est dormiendum ne periclitetur, ne pereat. Pastor es bonus; ne oves tuas Barbaris morsibus lacerandas permittas: Unge nos Leo Clementiss. tuo salutifero adipe, tuo pretiosissimo unguento, quo rapacissimorum Luporum rabiem conteramus, teque ferocissimum Leonem in perfidos Christi hostes os-

tende. Quod quo facilius perfici possit, totis viribus, quod instituisti, adnitendum est, ut Christianorum Principum concurrentia inter se segna, unde tot vulnera, tot clades, tantam sanguinis effusionem, tot civilibus bellis oppressa res Christiana in dies patitur, in primis componantur; ac tandem confecta pace, qua nec Deo quicquam acceptius, nec huic rei aptius esse potest, sedatisque eorum discordiis, unanimi consensu, concordia fidelium arma, in Infideles tuo felici auspicio, convertantur. Quod ut facias, quanto potest studio ac precibus, te obsecrat, teque obtestatur B. P. tuus Emanuel, qui hujus Sanctæ Sedis, Progenitorum more, ac tuæ S. præcipue semperque studiosissimus, qua solet observantia, nos alacri animo ad te mittit, cujus nomine obedientiam exhibentes, veræ sinceræque fidei officia spondemus nusquam defutura; Teque verum Christi Vicarium, Petri hæredem, Maximum Romanæ Ecclesiæ Pontificem, totius Christianæ Reip. Præsulem, recognoscimus, fatemur, adoramus. Simul etiam ut vestris Sacris Conciliis intersimus injunxit: ubi Clementissimus Deus dignetur adsistentium corda Spiritu Sancto ita replere, ut te duce decernantur, quæ Dei cultum, Catholicæ fidei augmentum, S. Sedis Apostolicæ decus, Tuæ B. merita ac famam, sacri Concilii laudem, totius Christiani orbis commodum, Infidelium perniciem excidiumque perpetuum concernant; in Dei Opt. Max. gloriam sempiternam, Amen.

M. CASANOVA.

Dum Tulli eloquium et clypeus famulatur Achillis,
Emanuel dextra fulminat, ore tonat.

Jo. Ja. Cipellus.

Armis Emanuel, Pacecchus ore est;
Clarus viribus ille, hic eloquendo.
Virtutes quoque Regias in uno
Omneis Emanuele sentiebam
Dum doctus celebraret hunc Pacecchus.
Hinc Regem dubitabo clariorem
Devictine Arabes, et Indi, et Afri,

An Oratio fecerit Pacecchi.

Dicent nec scio posterī et nepotes,
Laudandum magis an magis timendum.

Blosius.

Lusitanorum tum fortia, tum pia facta,
Urbem, orbem implerant, Oceanum, Imperia,
Nempe pii et clari per sæcla perennia Regis
Nullum os, nulla ætas laudibus abstinuit.
At postquam suus illa alto tulit ore Pacecchus,
Et Regem egregium nuntia lingua refert,
Perculsis stupuere animis Patresque Patrumque
Ipse pater; Regis laus geminata nitet.
Ac simul hinc, Regem, quod fecerit inclita, laudant :
Hinc, se quod tanto jusserit ore cani.

P. Cursius Carpinen.

Regum gloria, Principumque sidus,
Europæ decus, Indiæ subactor,
Unus Emanuel facis quot omnes,
(Si fas vera loqui) suis duellis
Reges non faciunt potentiores.
Quæ nunc scribere non opus, quod omnes
Norunt tam bene, quam suos lacertos.
Nam dum hæc grandiloquo explicavit ore
Pacecchus tuus, sic Leo priorum
Longe Pontificum optimus, Senatus,
Sic orbis stupuit tuis trophæis,
Hæc ut te erigere, haud loqui hunc, putarit.
Regum gloria, Principumque sidus,
Europæ decus, Africæ subactor ;
Quod sol exoriens cadentem adorat,
Quod quum Sol viget, est minor cadente,
Quod miracula tot facis canenda,
Felix ter, quater es tuis canendis.
Sed quæ tot facis ut canat legendus
Sæclis omnibus, omnibus disertis,
Ter, quater, decies, perenne, felix.

Lancellottus Politus Jur. Cons.

Quid nam opus hoc? Oro. Cuinam obsecro dicta? Leoni.

Pro quo? Magnanimo pro Emanuele suo.

Quid potuit tanto dici pro Principe dignum?

Quis potuit tanto dicere digna Deo?

Pacecchus, grandi et claro qui edisserit ore,

Te digna Emanuel, te quoque digna, Leo.

Sit tua, Dive Leo, virtus licet unica, et ipsa

Unica sint etiam gesta tua, Emanuel,

Par tamen illius dicendi gloria, cum sit

Unicus ingenio, et unicus eloquio.

B. Dardanus.

Hæc quoque ne occiduæ genti laus desset ab armis,

Ingenii rarum protulit illa decus:

Nuper enim Orator dum Lusitanus in Urbe

Funderet eloquii flumina larga sui,

Roma sacrosancto stupuit veneranda Senatu,

Substitit attonitis Albula tristis aquis.

Eloquium domina quod jam Tagus hausit ab Urbe,

Hauriat occidui Tybris ab amne Tagi.

Idem.

Imperii augebat latos Hispania fines,

Mitteret Augustos cum tibi Roma duces:

Dum Lusitani tonat hic præconia Regis

Eloquii amissum rettulit illa decus.

Janus Vitalis Panormitanus.

Rex, orator, eques, prudens, torrens, animosus;

Vincit, agit, pugnat, ingenio, ore, manu.

Camillus Porcius.

Ante quidem, Emanuel, Regum Rex, gloria belli

Cesserat armorumque tibi, præreptaque nobis

Militiæ laus atque decor, quo maxima Roma

Divum hominumque parens, cælo sese intulit olim;

Dum tu, posthabitis bellis civilibus, et quæ
 Nunc miseram urgent Europam, felicius arma
 Vertis in infidos hostes, belloque frementes ;
 Indosque, Ethiopesque, ignotaque Regna lacesis,
 Atque indignatum sternis tot classibus æquor.
 Non tamen antiquo e Latio, et Laurentibus oris
 Candor adhuc aberat linguæ, pluresque vigeant,
 Eloquio insignes, soliti volitare per ampla
 Ora virum, æternumque decus nomenque mereri ;
 At postquam Orator grandi tonat ore Pacechus
 Gesta tua, Emanuel, tuaque inclita facta revolvens,
 Flexanimæ rapit adstantes dulcedine vocis,
 Obstupuere omnes, Latia obstupuere Camenæ,
 Miratæque suum Tyberim ut migrarit in alveum
 Auriferasque Tagi, ac Durii prædivitis, undas.

No. CII.

(Page 303.)

Sadolet. Ep. Pont. Ep. No. 20.

REGI PORTUGALIÆ.

POSTEA quam Serenitas tua, suis Legatis, viris lectissimis, ad nos missis, id, quod regi Christianissimo fuit consentaneum, veram et sinceram obedientiam Deo optimo maximo, nobisque Dei in terris vices, licet immeritis, gerentibus, ac Sedi Apostolicæ præstitit ; cum munus eorum publice cum magna dignitate actum, habitamque luculentam orationem læti auscultavissemus, et quæ visa nobis fuerunt ad tuam singularem laudem, et commendationem pertinere, respondissemus ; fuimus ab iisdem Legatis tuis appellati, ut privatim eis copiam, et potestatem nostri faceremus, quod habere se dicerent mandata, et munera, de quibus tuo nomine essent nobiscum acturi : quod nos cum illis libenter concessimus (antecesserat autem rumor, et hominum expectatio non mediocris, propter famam, et nobilitatem eorum munerum, quæ

abs te missa esse dicebantur, quo esset tua liberalitas testatior) die constituta advocavimus nobis Venerandum Fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium cœtum universum; magnamque præterea multitudinem et copiam ornatorum ac præstantium virorum tanti spectaculi celebritas concitavit. Itaque constituti in Conventu pleno summæ dignitatis excepimus adeuntes Legatos tuos, eorumque orationem de tua erga nos benevolentia, de muneribus missis, de animo in sanctam Sedem Apostolicam, ac in Dei fidem egregio et præstanti, jucundissime accepimus; nequē mediocri cum voluptate, munera ipsa aspeximus, Elephantum unum Indicum incredibili corporis magnitudine, et Pardum unum aliquanto specie ipsa venustiore, virgato corpore, et maculis distincto: sed in Elephanto omnium admiratio major, vel propter memoriam antiquitatis, quod apud veteres hæc bellua Romæ frequens, tanto sæculorum intervallo visa non fuerit, postquam videlicet hujus maximæ, et nobilissimæ civitatis veteres illæ imperii et potentiae opes conciderunt; vel propter docilitatem belluæ atque disciplinam, ita obtemperantis monitis et præceptis rectoris sui, ut fides fieret non falso fuisse a gentilibus nostris litteris proditum, esse quandam illi belluæ cum genere humano societatem. Atque hæc hujusmodi animantium productio, et nobis jucunditati fuit, et populari in primis habuit admirationem. Sed cum, hoc spectaculo transacto, in medio eorundem Fratrum nostrorum, et in gravissimorum, atque ornatissimorum hominum corona, consedissemus, explicaverunt eo in loco ministri Majestatis tuæ vestem destinatam rebus divinis, ac vere tantummodo dignam, quæ in thesauris Dei omnipotentis censeatur; cum nemo mortalis tam sit arrogans, qui se tanto illo ornatu dignum putare queat. Sed ejus fulgor simul atque, involucris rejectis, ad oculos intuentium est oblatus, silentium primum et tacita admiratio omnes tenuit: neque enim aut oculi ad aspectum, aut vox ad laudem sufficere posse videbantur; idque non injuria. Erat enim ea species, ea pulchritudo nobilissimi operis, qualem nec vidissemus antea unquam, nec videre expectavissemus; is splendor, qui ex candore, et copia tot gemmarum esse debebat; artem autem in eo, et va-

rietatem operum, omnes plane confitebantur etiam pretiosorem esse materia, cum diuturnus labor nobilitatem summi artificii, ordine et contextu mirabili margaritarum, antecellere omnibus Indicis, atque Arabicis opibus coegisset. Hoc dono conspecto, in quo, et magnitudo animi tui, qui dedicasses, et summi Dei, cujus honori dedicasses, erga te beneficentia perspiciebatur; lectæ sunt litteræ tuæ, scriptæ incertum elegantius, an religiosius; te, quod primitiæ omnium rerum Deo dicandæ sunt, primitias Lybiæ, Mauritaniæ, Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persidis, atque Indiæ in Dei honorem, nobis, ipsius vices sustinentibus dare, ac dedicare. Quorum omnium, et verborum, et operum magnificentia, a tanto et tam illustri Rege profecta, inusitata quidem nobis et mirabilis visa est, animo percurrentibus, quas tu provincias, quas regiones, quas oras tam terrestres quam maritimas virtute ac victoria, Deo comite, peragrasses; ut te præstantissimum Regem non solum nostra, sed etiam antiquitatis memoria præbuisses. Sed multo clarior, atque admirabilior visa est in tanto Rege, et optima erga Deum voluntas, et summa Religio: animus vero, et benevolentia erga nos, ceterarum rerum omnium nobis accidit jucundissima. Quamquam enim maximas, ac præclarissimas res nobis dono misisti, tamen multo habemus gratiorem amorem erga nos tuum, quam cunctarum opum, et divitiarum apparitionem. Itaque munera quidem tua, ut nobis charissima, in sacrario nostri delubri Palatini conservaturi sumus, te vero ipsum ac præstantissimas virtutes tuas in corde, atque animo nostro perpetuo conservabimus. Utinam quas vellemus gratias tuæ Serenitati agere possemus: agimus quidem maximas; sumusque, si occasio feret, aliquando relaturi. Sed referet Deus ipse, qui nec pietatem tuam cœlestibus suis præmiis, quæ maxima sunt, irremuneratam, nec nostram cupiditatem referendæ gratiæ, ut confidimus, irritam esse sinet. Nos quidem, quod nostræ est potestatis, et singularem benevolentiam tuæ erga nos voluntati perpetuo habituri sumus, et summum honorem virtuti. Datum Romæ die XI. Maji 1514. anno secundo.

SADOLETUS.

LEO X.

No. CIII.

(Page 308.)

*Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat, Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Medici. Flor. Rom. 23
Mar. 1514.*

QUESTA mattina sono stato ad longum cum lo prefato Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro, domandandogli, se haveva da dirmi cosa alchuna, rispondendo di nò; et ricercandolo dell judicio suo di questa tregua fra Spagna, et Francia, et quello gliene pareva; me disse, che se non ci era sotto qualche trappola, la era per andar bene, et che Nostro Signore non se ne potrebbe più contentare, quando non ci sia drento qualche che, come Sua Santità ne dubita, perchè quando siano per andare al bene, et non remove le cose d'Italia, come lo Stato di Milano, come ne è stato accennato, Sua Santità (come ve dico) ne sta contentissimo; et più di sono il Re di Spagna gliene fece intendere della pratica di questa tregua; ma Nostro Signore ha paura, che non segua quel parentado della figliola di Francia con Spagna, ad la quale si ragiona dare in dote lo Stato di Milano, et quando questo seguisse Sua Santità non ne sarebbe troppo contenta per respecto delle cose d'Italia; questo me ha detto Monsignore Reverendissimo, che io ve scriva, et che voi nonne scriva, parliate con homo alchuno, ma solo ad vostra satisfatione si scripto, et che per adasso non ci è altro.

No. CIV.

(Page 309.)

*Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Medici Flor. Rom. 15 Apr.
1514.*

MONSIGNOR Reverendissimo me dice, che qui non ci è altro di nuovo, salvo che questo Archidiacono di Monsignor de Marsilii venuto di Francia, et che voi di là havete il medesimo, et che il Re di Francia desidera restringersi con Nostro Signore, et vorrebbe per mezo di Sua Santità pigliare accordo con li Svizeri, et essere con quella, et la pratica, che ha della figliuola con lo Arciduca, se potessi fare altro, lo farebbe volentieri, per respecto che malvolentieri se depotesta dello stato di Milano, et poi anchora dubita, che se lo Arciduca havessi quello stato, non fussi augmentato dallo Imperatore de una Verona, et altre città li circumvicine, et così ne potessi venire ad danni soi; et dicemi Sua Signoria Reverendissima, che lo Re di Francia promette ad Nostro Signore Stato, &c. se si restringano insieme loro tre, cioè Francia, Papa, et Svizeri, et che havendo questo non teme nè di Spagna, nè Inghilterra, nè Imperatore, nè altro, et facto questo ne vorrebbe venire in Italia, &c. ad recuperare lo Stato di Milano. Delle qual cose Nostro Signore non è anchora risoluto, et altro non ci è degno da scrivere.

Io comprehendo, per quello posso ritrarre da alchuno, che Nostro Signore vistosi lassato indrieto da Spagna da uno tempo in quà comincia ad prestare orecchie ad queste cose di Francia, et ad ogni hora lo ambasciatore Franzese è con S. Sanctità et lo ausculta volentieri, che prima nonne voleva sentir parlare, et M. Luisi de' Rossi è mezano ad tutte queste cose, et lui me ha detto, che crede, che Nostro Signore ~~se~~ restringerà cum quella Maestà, et veramente non è dubio, che quando fussino insieme Nostro Signore, Fran-

cia, et li Svizeri, ci fussi da dubitare, et le cose andrebbero bene per voi altri ; staremo a vedere, et intendendo risoluzione alchuna, subito se significherà ad V.S.

No. CV.

(Page 312.)

Rymer, Fœdera, tom. vi. par. i. p. 57.

De Pileo et Gladio Consecratis, ad Regem missis.

Charissime in Christo Fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

IMITATI vetus Institutum Romanorum Pontificum Prædecessorum nostrorum, cum in proxima Natalis Dominici Nocte, inter Missarum solemnias, *Ensem et Pileum* manibus nostris consecrassemus, ut eo postea munere, uti consuevit fieri, aliquem ex Christianis Principibus de hac Sancta Sede benemeritis donaremus, convertimus cogitationem nostram in tuam præcipue Majestatem, pro paterna nostra ac singulari in eam benevolentia, proque tuis ac Illustrium Progenitorum tuorum erga ipsam Sedem et Christianam Religionem clarissimis ac testatissimis meritis; Teque tantum ac talem Principem, Sanctæque hujus Sedis ab ipso Deo utrumque Gladium habentis devotissimum Filium, hoc nostro præclaro munere de Venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium concilio decrevimus decorandum.

Quod quidem Donum, *Fili Carissime*, non tam Materia quam Misterio prætiosum est; signatur enim hoc Gladio, Unigeniti Dei Filii de inventore mortis ac humani generis hoste victoria, ac Dei infinita potentia in ipso Filio suo, vero Deo et Homine, æque cum Patre subsistens.

Figurat etenim Pontificalis hic Gladius Potestatem summam Temporalem, a Christo, *Pontifici Maximo*, Vicario ejus in Terris collatam.

Pileus vero cum Ense iccirco conjungitur, ut eo, veluti Galea quadam Salutis assumpto, assiduus intrepidusque Propugnator adversus inimicos Fidei et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ protegaris, et armetur caput tuum Spiritus Sancti gratia, qui per columbam margaritis ornatam significatur.

Suscipe igitur, *Carissime Fili*, Munus hoc Sacrum Regia tua Animi magnitudine ac præstanti virtute dignissimum; accipe manu ista bellica *Ensem Bellicum*; hoc Tu felicissimis auspiciis bella geres, hostes fidei nostræ subiges, Christianæ Reipublicæ fines ac Imperium propagabis; tunc Te, *Princeps fortissime*, animum decet advertere ad tantum decus, tantum meritum, etiam ante alios evolare, contra Infidelium rabiem tuæ Militiæ facinora excercere, primitias virium, roboris, ætatis, Deo Optimo Maximo consecrare, ut in Præliis per hoc munus cœlesti auxilio fretus celebres referas ex Christi hoste Triumphos, pace vero deinde parta idem Tibi munus perpetuo sit decori atque ornamento.

Quod ut Tibi gratius esset, mittimus illud per Dilectum Filium *Leonardum de Spinellis* Affinem ac Familiarem nostrum, Nobis admodum gratum, ut Personæ auctoritas gratiam muneris augeat, et simul ut *Majestati tuæ* intimam nostram erga Te charitatem et benevolentiam coram uberius ostendat.

Datum *Romæ* apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die Prima Martii M. D. xiii. Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo.

JA. SADOLETUS.

*Charissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Regi Angliæ
Illustri.*

No. CVI.

(Page 312.)

*Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reip. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Medici Flor. Rom. xviii.
Ap. 1514.*

QUESTA havevo cominciato questo dì xvii. credendo si spacciassi, ma perchè non partì alchuno per lì, la ho sopratemuta persino ad questa sera xviii; et dipiù fo intendere ad V. S. come questa sera Monsignore Reverendissimo me ha detto, che io gli faccia intendere come qui sono lettere del primo di questo del Re proprio d'Inghilterra ad Nostro Signore per le quali si duole assai cum Sua Santità de questa tregua, che ha facto Spagna con Francia, et monstra ne essere mal contento, et gli fa intendere, che vuole essere con quella, et non uscire della volontà sua; d'onde Nostro Signore pensa, et con ogni ingegno trama di operare, che l'Inghilterra et Francia se reconcilino, et faccino accordo insieme, et di già ha dato qualche principio, et farà ogni opera d'accordargli, et Dio gliene presti gratia. S. S. Reverendissima fa intendere ad V. S. che di questo ultimo capitolo d'Inghilterra la non ne parli; ma solum sia ad sua satisfactione.

No. CVII.

(Page 315.)

*Exempl. in Biblioth. Vaticana. Et v. Fabron. in vita Leon. X.
in Not. 38.*

Copia originalis Litteræ Serenissimi Regis Angliæ ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum, Dominum Leonem Papam X. missæ, de pace ac fœdere per eum et Christianissimum Francorum Regem noviter inita.

BEATISSIME Pater: &c. Post multas variasque disceptationes atque altercationes inter Serenissimi Francorum Regis

Oratores apud nos, et nostros Conciliarios ultro citroque habitas, divino tandem munere, et Sanctitate vestra duce atque auctore, arma per nos pro ista sancta Sede sumpta deposuimus, et terra marique pacem ac fœdus cum eodem Francorum Rege æquis et honorificis, tam vestræ Sanctitati quam nobis, conditionibus inivimus. Nam vestram ante omnes Sanctitatem, istamque sanctam Sedem, ac universam ejus ditionem et nominatim Bononiam in hac pace et fœdere comprehendimus. Complexi etiam sumus sacrum Imperium, et Illustrissimum dominum Principem Castellæ, atque illis annum hinc ad tres menses inchoandum dedimus ad animi sui sententiam declarandum, utrum in hac pace et fœdere esse velint, nec ne. At vestræ Sanctitati diem nullam præscripsimus. Nullum præterea non studium et operam adhibuimus, nec quicquam obmisimus, ut Ducem quoque Mediolani eadem pace ac fœdere complecteremur. Verum id obtinere nulla ratione potuimus. De Serenissimo vero Rege Aragonum, quoniam is res suas ex se ipso agere magis amat, neuter nostrum mentionem ullam fecit. A dicto Serenissimo Francorum Rege inter cæteros amicos Scoti quoque sunt comprehensi, sub quibusdam conditionibus, quibus eos nequaquam staturos existimamus. Hujus autem pacis terminus anno postquam alteruter nostrum vita excesserit est constitutus; quemadmodum ex dictæ pacis Capitulis, quæ ab eodem Francorum Rege intra proximos duos menses sunt comprobanda, et postea infra annum vestræ Sanctitatis auctoritate (adjectis contra violatorem censuris) confirmanda, ac nunc etiam ex Reverendo Domino Episcopo Vigornienti, nostro apud Sanctitatem vestram et Sedem Apostolicam Oratore, copiosius intelliget. Ut autem hæc pax firmior stabiliorque sit eidem Serenissimo Francorum Regi, Illustrissimam Sororem nostram Dominam Mariam, ab ipso instantissime petitam, in matrimonium promisimus. Quæ olim cum vix annum XIII. attigisset, per nostrum clarissimæ memoriæ Patrem prædicto Illustrissimo Principi Castellæ, Annum tunc ætatis suæ nonum agenti pacta fuerat, tempusque constitutum, ut cum idem Illustrissimus Domi-

nus Princeps ad annum XIII. pervenisset, Oratores ac Procuratores suos huc ad nos mitteret, qui cum dicta Illustrissima Sorore nostra solemnia Sponsalia, per verba de præsenti, conficerent. Quod cum non esset ab ejusdem Illustrissimi Principis Gubernatoribus observatum, rursus anno superiori cum apud Insulas Oppieses essemus, huic rei, xv. die mensis Maii proxime præteriti, per Oratorem nostrum operam dedimus, atque hoc quoque ab eisdem Domini Principis Gubernatoribus (quamquam sæpe a nobis admonitis et rogatis) fuit neglectum. Quapropter dicta Illustrissima Soror nostra, consultatione prudentum habita, quicquid per eundem nostrum Patrem, suo nomine, cum prædictis Domini Principis Gubernatoribus actum fuerat, coram Notario publico et testibus se rescindere, ac irritum habere protestata est: atque re dissoluta, dicto Serenissimo Francorum Regi est desponsata, et matrimonium per ejusdem Regis Procuratorem jam contractum. Quo vinculo non dubitamus sinceriores et constantiores inter eum et nos pacem futuram: ad quam quidem crebre studiosissimeque vestrae Sanctitatis adhortationes, et demonstrata nobis ab ea, non istius Sanctæ Sedis modo, verum etiam totius Christianæ Reipublicæ utilitas nos imprimis allexerunt, ea sane spe, ut non nostra tantum, sed et omnium Christianorum arma plus nimio in mutuas cædes grassata, finem aliquando faciant, et in Christiani nominis hostes convertantur; qui fraternas nostras cædes læti ac ridentes spectant, et nos eo melius rem sibi gerere, ac magis strenue sibi militare, quo atrocius in nostra ipsa viscera sævire arbitrantur. Proinde Sanctitatem vestram etiam atque etiam oramus, ut quod sanctissime cogitavit, et feliciter cœpit, universali paci componendæ nunc maxime instet, Divinoque suo concilio, et quantis valet precibus, sicuti apud nos fecit, ita apud cæteros Principes Christianos agat, summaque vi in tam præclarum, tamque vestra Sanctitate dignum, Christianæ Reipublicæ salutiferum opus adnietur: quo pulcherrima illa, votisque omnibus et nobis semper exoptata adversus infideles expeditio concordibus omnium Christianorum armis animisque conspiciatur: quod aut

sub vestra Sanctitate, aut sub nullo alio Pontifice nos visuros speramus. Ex palatio nostro Greenvici die XII. Augusti M. D. XIII.

No. CVIII.

(Page 318.)

Rymer, Fœdera, tom. vi. par. 1. p. 61.

De Obitu Cardinalis Eboracensis.

Serenissime ac Invictissime Rex et Domine, Domine mi Colendissime.

Post humillimas commendationes. Hodie, Bonæ Memoræ, *Cardinalis Eboracensis* Naturæ reddidit quod acceperat, ex cujus obitu quantum ceperim doloris nullis possim exprimere Literis.

Nam, præterquam quod observaveram et amaveram eum non vulgariter, fecit non parvam jacturam Ordo noster tanto Patre et Domino carere, et cujus etiam Servitio quotidie Regia Majestas vestra uti poterat.

Sed quoniam a Deo hæc sunt, cui nihil nisi rectum placet, ejus voluntati acquiescendum est, ejusque roganda clementia ut inter Servos suos ad æternam illam vitam dignetur accipere.

Ego vero, quod ad Officium meum pertinere existimavi, statim Sanctissimum Dominum Nostrum conveni, et suæ Sanctitati supplicavi ne quid de Beneficiis prædictæ Bonæ Memoræ prius decerneret, quam a *Majestate vestra* de ipsius voluntate certior fieret et juxta eam deliberaret :

Quod ab *Sua Sanctitate*, pro summa ac paterna ejus in *Majestatem vestram* benevolentia et affectione, facile impe-travi.

Cogitabit itaque illa mature quod magis ex ipsius Servitio futurum est, et *Sanctissimo Domino Nostro* quæcumque concedi ab eo poterunt sibi poterit firmiter permittere.

Ego ab Instituto et Officio meo erga *Majestatem vestram* in nulla occasione discedam : quæ et de Cardinalis ægritudine et studio ac opera mea ex *Domini Wygorniensis* ore fiet planius certiorata.

Commendo Me humillime *vestræ Regiæ Majestati*; quam Deus incolumem ac felicissimam diu conservet.

Romæ ex Palatio Apostolico, xiv. Julii, M.D.XIV.

Sacræ Regiæ Majestatis vestræ,

Humillimus ac Fidelissimus Servitor,

J. CARDINALIS DE MEDICIS.

No. CIX.

(Page 318.)

Rymer, Fœdera, tom. iv. part. 1. p. 86.

SERENISSIME et Gloriosissime Rex et Domine, Domine Observantissime, humillimas Commendationes præmissas.

Indies *Majestas vestra* reddidit me dignitatibus, et muneribus obnoxiozem; accepi nuper a Magnifico Equite *Griffitho Don* præsentium Latore, nomine *Majestatis vestræ*, literas humanissimas, et duos Equos optimos, regiis ornamentis instratos; Donum profecto insigne et mihi gratissimum, tum præstantia Equorum, tum vel maxime quod a *Majestate vestra* missum erat; Cui ago ingentes gratias, et si quando dabitur occasio referam, et me humillime etiam atque etiam commendo; quæ felicissime valeat.

Romæ ex Palatio Apostolico, die tricesimo Octobris M.D.XIV.

Excellentissimæ Majestatis vestræ,

Humillimus Servitor,

Dors.

JULIANUS DE MEDICIS.

Serenissimo et Gloriosissimo Principi et Domino, Domino Henrico, Regi Angliæ, Franciæque ac Domino Hyberniæ Observandissimo.

No. CX.

(Page 318.)

*Rymer, Fædera, tom. vi. p. 74.**Litera Regis Francorum ad Th. Wolsey Elect. Eboracensem.**Monsieur d' Jorci,*

POUR ce que j'ay sceu Retour de ce Porteur pur dela, je ne l'ay voulu lasser partir sans vous porter Lettres de Moy.

Et par icelles Vous prier & affectueusement que Vous vueille faire mes bonnes & Cordialles Recommandacions aux *Roy & Rayne* mes bonnes Frere & Sœur & aussy a la *Royne ma Femme*.

En Vous priant, en oultre, tenir main a ce que ma Femme parte de la le plus tost que faire se pourra,

Car il n'y a Chose en ce Monde que tant je desire que de la veoir & me trouver avecques Elle,

Et, en ce faist, Vous me ferez plaisir, & m'obligerez de plus en plus a vous.

Priant Dieu *Monsieur d' Jorci* qu'il Vous ait en sa Sainte Garde.

Escript a *Estampes* le Second Jour de Septembre.

LOYS.

ROBERTOT.

Dor.

A Monsieur d' Jorci.

*Ejusdem ad Eundem, p. 81.**Monsieur d' Yorc, Mon bon Amy.*

J'AY puis n'aguieres receu la lettre que Vous m'avez escripte.

Et par le contenu d'icelle entendu la bonne et parfaicte voulonte, que vous avez non soulement a l'entretienement de la bonne Paix et mutuelle Amytie d'entre *le Roy* mon

bon Frere et Cousin *et Moy*, maiz a l'augmentacion et accroissement d'icelle, et de noz Honneurs et Estatz.

Dont tant et si affectueusement que Je puis Je vous mercye.

Et vous prie, *Monsieur d'Yorc, Mon bon Ami*, en croye fermement qu'el n'y a amytié ne alliance en la Christiente que tant ne plus Je tiengne chere, que Je faitz et vueil faire tant que Je viuray, celle de mon dit bon Frere et Cousin, esperant, par vostre bon moyen trouver tousjours en Luy pareille Correspondance.

Et quant a ce que m'escripuez de la traduction et venue par deca *de la Royne* ma Femme, Je Vous mercye de la paine que Vous prenez pour l'appareil des choses qui sont requises et necessaires pour sa dite venue, et de l'extresme diligence que Vous y avez faict et faictes, ainsi que *le Seigneur de Marigny et Jehan de Paris* m'ont escript.

Vous priant continuer et l'abreger le plus que vous pourrez, car le plus grant desir que j'aye pour leure presente est de la veoyr deca la Mer, et Me trouver avecques Elle, par quoy en ce faisant et ny perdant temps, comme Vous le m'escripuez, vous Me ferez singulier plaisir, et tel quel ne sera jamais que j'en aye souvenance et obligations envers Vous.

Et, quant a ce qu'avez retenu avecque vous le dit *Seigneur de Marigny et Jehan de Paris*, pour ayder a dresser le dite appareil *a la mode de France*, Vous m'avez fait plaisir en ce faisant, et presentement leur escripts que non seulement ilz Vous obeissent en cela, maiz en toutes autres choses que Vous leur commanderez, et tout ainsi qu'ilz feroient a ma propre parsonne.

Et, au regart du plaisir, que dictes par vos dites Lettres, que ma dite Femme a pris d'avoyr ouy de mes bonnes nouvelles, et que la chose, que pour le Jourduy plus Elle desire et souhaite, est de Me veoyr et estre en ma Compaignie, Je Vous pris, *Monsieur d'Yorc, Mon bon Amy*, Luy dire de par Moy, et Luy faire bien entendre, que mes desirs et souhaitz sont pareilz et semblables aux siens ; Et que puis quel n'est possible que Je la voye si tost que Je dessire,

que Je Luy prie qu'elle me face savoir de ses nouvelles le plus souvent que faire se pourra, et Je feray le semblable de Mon couste.

Au surplus, en tant que touche les tresaffectueuses et trescordialles recommandacions que Vous avez faictes a mon dit Frere et Cousin da ma part, et celles que de la sienne Vous Me faictes, Je l'en mercye de tout mon cueur, et vous prie derechef les Luy faire, et aussi Me faire primerement entendre s'il y a aucune chose en mon Royaume ou il preigne plaisir, et je metray paine de Luy en complaire.

Au demeurant j'ay veu ce que Vous avez escript a mon Cousin *le Duc de Longueville* ; sur quoy Je luy ay ordonne Vous faire responce telle que verrez, Je Vous prie y adjoûter foy ; et Me faire savoyr de voz Nouvelles le plus souvent que possible sera, et Vous Me ferez plaisir si grant que plus ne pourriez.

Priant Dieu, *Monsieur d'Yorc, Mon bon Amy*, que vous ayt en sa garde.

Esript a *Paris* le jour de Septembre.

LOYS.

ROBERTET.

Dor.

A Monsieur d'Yorc, Mon bon Amy.

No. CXI.

(Page 327.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Magnifico viro Patrono meo observandissimo Laurentio de Medicis.

MAGNIFICE vir, patrone mi observandissime, &c. In risposta delle sue de' v. non me accade dire altro ad V. S. salvo che ho ringratiato el Magnifico Giuliano, per parte di quella, del cavallo suo gli vuole mandare, el quale sarebbe

già per via, se non fussi che ha havuto un poco di male in uno piede di drieto, che non si è potuto mandare ; pure si partirà Sabbatho di quà, et credo verrà Piero Tedesco con epso, et venendo lui manderò in sua compagnia li duo cavalli del Signore Jo. Jordano, che ho havuti, et lo cavallo del Signore Luca Savello, quale è in Corneto, ordinerò che venga con questi. Quello del Signore Niccolò non si è potuto havere, perchè dice che è malato ; per hora si mandano questi tre, perchè piu non sene sono potuti havere.

Monsignore Reverendissimo Cibò per parte di V. S. ho visitato, et confortato al curarsi, et recuperare presto la sua bona pristina valitudine, per venire in questa festa di là, Sua Signoria Reverendissima non sta anchora troppo bene, nondimeno sta levato, et va per camera, et tutte le sue stanze, et ha una voglia extrema di venire, et dice, che se si dovessi fare portare in lectica, omnino vuole essere lì in questo S. Giovanni, per godere in compagnia di V. S. quelle cose che saranno, et si faranno lì, et che non lasserà ad fare cosa alchuna per guarire, per essere lì, et partecipare questo piacere con quella, ad la quale assai se raccomanda.

V. S. sarebbe tarda ad la fiera ad Lanciano ; questo dico, perchè se lo Elephante, che la ha domandato lo havessi chiesto tanto innanzi, che fussi potuto venire ad tempo, quella ne sarebbe stata compiaciuta, ma se la se ricorda bene della grosseza, et graveza sua, et se pensa ad le strane vie, che sono di quì ad Firenze, ed atteso ad li soi deboli piedi, quali mirabilmente le pietre offende, non si condurrebbe costì in uno mese, non che in xv. giorni, che ci sono di tempo, nondimeno per satisfare ad quella, si va pensando modi, o fargli qualche scarpa, come si fa ad li cani, o se potremo mandarlo per mare o qualche altro modo, ma nonci si vede possibile ; et venendo se si facessi male, et rimanessi per via Nostro Signore et anchora V. S. ne restarebbono mal contenti. Pertanto, se non lo haverà V. S. dolghisi di se medesimo. Io subito ne parlai non Nostro Signore, et con Monsignore Reverendissimo, et tutti ridendo fortemente dissero sarebbe bene per honorare quella festa mandarcelo, ma non andrebbe ad tempo, et sarebbono stati contenti

darvi questa consolatione, ma el tempo è corto; sicchè la bona volontà di compiacere ad V. S. nonci è manchata, li effecti non possano seguire per li respecti se detti di sopra.

Ad Monsignore Reverendissimo ho dato la copia della conventione de Frati, et operai de' Servi, et quella ha havuto chara, &c.

Hier mattina, doppo il Consistorio Nostro Signore venne in Castello, et staravvi per sino ad Sabato ad vespro, perchè è vespro Papale, &c. Hoggi doppo pranzo passeggiando Sua Santità, et stando audire cantare, si strinseno insieme quella, et Monsignori Reverendissimi di Ferrara, et de Aragona, et M. Luigi de' Rossi, et parlando delle cose di Firenze, cioè della giostra, triumpho, caccie, et altre feste, che si faranno lì, Sua Santità me fece chiamare da M. Luigi, et volseno vedere la nota del triumpho, et delli capitoli della giostra, che ho havuto di là, et in conclusione si risolvono, che andando li prefati Reverendissimi Ferrara et Aragona ad Loreto, come vanno fra III. dì, di venire ad vedere la festa, et essere lì stravestiti, la vigilia di S. Giovanni, et che volevano fare la via di Cortona, et venire in poste. Nostro Signore me ha commesso, che io ne scriva ad V. S. et che gli dica per sua parte, che la ordini da Cortona ad Firenze, che siano tante poste, quante sarà di bisogno, et che per ogni posta ordini VI. o VIII. cavalli, perchè ciaschuno di loro haverà III. o IIII. Servitori, et che dette poste siano in ordine ad li XVIII. o XIX. dì di questo, et che la faccia loro honore, et careze, &c. et uno pezo con grandissimo desiderio si parlò di quella festa, et omnino di venire ad vederla, et in questi ragionamenti si disse, che il Magnifico Giuliano anchora lui verrà, ma stravestito. Doppo questo, partiti da Nostro Signore li prefati Reverendissimi et M. Luigi mi chiamorno, et commissommi, che io scrivessi ad V. S. per parte loro, come havevano deliberato di venire, per la via et modi detti di sopra, et essere lì la vigilia di S. Giovanni al fermo. Io ringratiatoli, et invitatoli per parte di V. S. me offersi fare il bisogno. M. Luigi et lo parlando dipoi insieme della venuta de questi Reverendissimi, &c. ci risolvemmo confortare Nostro Sig-

nore ad fare ordinare la camera terrena di V. S. et quella altra per Ferrara, et Aragona, et per lui et M. Augustino de' Triultii, et il Conte Hercule, la camera de' Cancellieri, et per lo Magnifico Giuliano la camera dove stette Nostro Signore, et se verrà Cibò, quella di Madonna, et dice, che se 'l Magnifico Giuliano verrà, lui ne verrà seco; ma non venendo lo prefato Magnifico Giuliano, che lui con li prefati M. Augustino, e' l Conte Hercole sarà costì o Lunedì, o Martedì innanzi S. Giovanni per godere V. S. alchuno dì. Questo ordine delle camere ho conferito con Madonna, et S. S. dice che V. S. lo faccia che saranno bene accommodati, non dimeno me ne rimetto ad quella, &c.

Li danari se haveranno da Nostro Signore, ma non so tutti, et per questa altra mia ne darò migliore notitia: et acciocchè se possa cominciare ad spendere qual cosa si manda con questa una lettera di cambio di ducati 200 d'oro larghi ad Lanfredini, che siano pagati ad Sig. Bernardo, per spese et provisioni di casa, et questo lo ha facto Madonna, &c.

Romæ, viii. Jun. 1514.

No. CXII.

(Page 328.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reip. Flor.

*Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Med. Flor. Rom. xvii.
Jun. 1514.*

QUESTA mattina lo ambasciatore Venitiano ha cavato fora per Roma havere lettere da Venetia fresche, come Monsignore Reverendissimo Gurgense è morto di veneno; il che quantumque per nissuno si creda, nondimeno ne ho voluto scrivere ad V. S. Nostro Signore nè lo Signore Albertone hanno nova nissuna; tamen ogni cosa potrebbe essere, et perchè per Roma non si dice altro, lo ha voluto significare ad quella, ad la quale humilmente me raccomando, et prego,

che per potere soddisfare ad Nostro Signore et Monsignore Reverendissimo della festa di là, la non voglia lasciare pretermettere quantunque minima actione, che ad la giornata vi si farà, di per di, farle significare; che veramente, poichè non possano essere presenti lì, sentendole per lettere, ne piglieranno piacere grande, et saranno loro molto grate.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xix. Jun. 1514.

M. Luigi de' Rossi con li compagni debbano esser giunti lì per sino hieri, al quale V. S. me racommanderà, et gli dirà, che qui non è anchora nova alchuna de quella cosa sua, dipoi si parti di quì; venendocene non mancherò di fare quanto me impose, et che Nostro Signore si sta la maggior parte del di in la stantia sua ad giocare ad scacchi et udire sonare, et aspectando ad la giornata quello si farà lì, di per di de quelle feste; però quella non mancherà quando cominceranno, ogni di farne scrivere, et spacciare una cavalcata per questo effecto, per sino che le durano, che gli sarà gratissimo. Sua Santità et Monsignore Reverendissimo, et tutti li altri stanno benissimo, et la Clarice con uno corpo grande, et ad la bona gratia di V. S. humilmente me racommando.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xxii. Jun. 1514.

Per lo amore di Dio V. S. commetta ad S. Joanni, che non manchi di scrivere ad la giornata, ogni minima cosa de qualunque particolare, sì delli Signori venuti di quà, quanto delli altri, et del triumpho, palio, caccia, et giostra, cosa per cosa, perchè Nostro Signore et Monsignore Reverendissimo ne piglieranno quel medesimo piacere, udendole ordinatamente, che se vi fussino presenti; et perchè so, che V. S. debbe essere occupatissima, non gli dirò altro, salvo che ad la bona gratia di V. S. humilmente me racommando, quæ felix valeat.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xxiii. Jun. 1514.

Delle nuove che venghano di fora, mentre che sta lo Magnifico Giuliano lì, non scriverò altramente, perchè Mon-

signore Reverendissimo ha ordinato, che ne sia scripto sempre una lettera commune al Magnifico Giuliano, et ad V. S.

E stato grato havere inteso la arrivata de' quelli Reverendissimi Signori, et del magnifico Giuliano ad salvamento, et molto più sarà ad Nostro Signore grato intendere ad la giornata distinctamente li progressi, li homini che interverranno, le ordinanze, et qualunque altra minima cosa della festa, che per uno piacere non potrebbe ricevere maggiore; et se V. S. dovessi deputare uno ad questa cura, che non habbia altro da fare (se non lo haverà facto) per vostra fede non manchi di fare scrivere ogni minima cosa, di sorte che habbia soddisfare ad Sua Sanctità; et quanto più largamente sarà scripto, tanto più sarà grato.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xxvi. Jun. 1514.

Magnifice patrone mi observandissime, &c. Hieri ricevvi due di V. S. de' xxii. et xxiii. ad le quali non accade altra risposta, salvoche li avisi della festa sono stati grati, ma se fussino state un poco più largamente, et particolarmente describe le cose, narrando le persone, li ornamenti, in che quantità, et qualità, et ciascuna altra minima cosa, sariano più piaciuti; et quello che non si è facto V. S. lo potrà fare, dando questa cura ad persona, che le habbia visto tutte, et che non habbia altra cura, et significarle, perchè saranno accepte.

Al Medesimo. Rom. xxvii. Jun. 1514.

Questa sera, dipoi ch' io hebbi mandato le lettere ad la posta, ricevvi le di V. S. de' xxv. cun le avisi della caccia, et del resto della festa, li quali sono stati molto grati, et in verità questo modo di scrivere è satisfacto assai a Nostro Signore; et non mancho piacere ne ha preso sua santità leggendo tutta la lettera, che se la vi fussi stata presente et queste formale parole ha usato questa sera, mentre la leggeva.

No. CXIII.

(Page 329.)

*Ex. orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Med. Flor. Rom. viii.
Jun. 1514.*

QUESTE tante feste che si faranno in Firenze hanno facto venire capricci a tutto il palazzo, et la corte, di venirle a vedere, et Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro, et il Castellano ne hanno grandissima voglia, ma nè l'uno, nè l'altro ci puo venire. El Castellano questa mattina ha mandato duo Lupi, che haveva ad V. S. et dice che Nostro Signore ve harebbe mandato lo elephante, se non havesse havuto paura, che gli fussi stato facto pagare la gabella ad la porta, et se racomanda ad V. S. et la ringratia di quelle cose, et dice che Madonna Appollonia della Masina sarebbe bona per una di quelle vergini vestali del TRIUMPHO DI CAMILLO, et mille altre sue baie, et è tutto di V. S. El quale triumpho, per essere contra Franzesi, è stato di quà notato da alchuno homo da bene, et detto che è da advertirci per respecto de' Franzesi, che sono molto sensitivi, et quando V. S. lo potessi mutare, o subtacere il nome, non sarebbe male; quella è prudentissima, et credo haverà ben pensato tutto; questo gli ho detto, perchè Monsignore Reverendissimo di Ferrara me ne ha advertito questa mattina, che dice cognoscere in qualche parte la natura Gallica. Io ne ho detto con Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro, et anchora lui dice, che quando si potessi mutare, non sarebbe male; tamen tutto sia rimesso ad la prudentia di V. S.

Potrebbe essere, che Latino et io venissimo sino là, in poste, quando V. S. se ne contenti, et Nostro Signore.

No. CXIV.

(Page 329.)

*Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Med. Flor. Rom. xi.
Jun. 1514.*

MONSIGNORE Reverendissimo ringratia V. S. del Rosso Ridolphi senza altre cerimonie, et perchè quì si fa gran dire di questa giostra di V. S. S. S. Reverendissima me ha imposto, che io gli scriva, che poichè lì si è deliberato di farli, et quì si dica, che V. S. metta in campo non so quantì, come la advertisca di fare electione di quelli giostranti, et homini sopra ciò, che saranno per lei, che l'honore resti in casa, come sempre si è facto in simile et altre cose, et gli ricorda ad mandare fora di Firenze ad cercare valenti homini in giostra et nel ordinare, et che non si fidi di Fiorentini, che non sanno che si peschino, se non di cose antiche; et che in questo V. S. habbia advertentia grande, et di core gliene racommanda per honore della casa.

No. CXV.

(Page 330.)

*Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.**Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Med. Flor. Rom. x.
Jun. 1514.*

MADONNA me dice, che ha inteso hoggi, come V. S. si prova ad giostrare, et mettesi arme adosso, et corre cavalli grossi armato, et che più presto gli fa male, che altramente, &c. Il che quanto gli sia dispiaciuto in verità non lo potrei scrivere ad V. S. et stanne con grandissima passione, et me ha imposto che per sua parte gli scriva, et gli ricordi,

che pensi bene ad li Antiqui di casa, che hanno giostrato, quali et chi furno, et ramemora che se Piero di Cosimo giostro, era vivo suo Padre, che governava la città, et haveva uno fratello; et anchora quando Lorenzo, Avolo di V. S. giostro, haveva Piero suo Padre, che governava; et anchora lui haveva uno fratello, cioè Giuliano, Padre de Monsignore Reverendissimo, el quale Giuliano quando anchora lui giostro, la bona memoria di Lorenzo governava, et che etiam quando la bona memoria di vostro Padre giostro haveva duo figlioli, et duo fratelli, et non obstante questo gliene fu gridato, et ne riportò assai incarico, et che hora, che V. S. è giovine, et in casa non ci essendo altro, che quella et lo Magnifico Giuliano, et tutti dui senza donna et figlioli, et atteso la cattiva complexione del prefato Magnifico Giuliano, quella non può fare maggiore errore, che tenere simil vie; et dice, che V. S. la faccia fare ad altri, et lei stia a vedere, et che la pensi ad vivere, et mantenere la casa. Veramente tutto questo discorso lei me ha facto con grandissima passione, et quasi con le lacrime in su gli occhi, et prega caramente quanto può pregare una madre il figliuolo, V. S. che la si vogli portare in modo, che non gli vogli dare queste passioni, che se le continuassino non la farebbe troppo bene. Signore mio, V. S. vede che sua matre si muove ad buon fine, el quale credo, che se la lo considererà bene, penserà che lo fa ad beneficio suo, non per altro; et io anchora, per lo amore che io gli porto, la prego quanto so, et posso, che non vogli pigliare simili exercitii, che non sono ne di honore, ne utili.

No. CXVI.

(Page 331.)

*Canti Carnascialeschi, p. 121. Ed. Fior. 1559.**Di Jacopo Nardi.*

TRIONFO DELLA FAMA, ET DELLA GLORIA.

CONTEMPLA in quanta altezza sei salita,
Felice, alma Fiorenza,
Poi che dal Ciel disceso è in tua presenza
La Gloria, e con gli esempi a se t'invita :
La quale ha tal potenza,
Ch' a' i morti, rende vita ;
Ond'ella il morto già CAMILLO mostra
Viver' ancor per fama, all' età nostra.
Quell' è Furio Cammillo, il gran Romano,
Per cui Roma esaltata
Fu tanto, che l' invidia scellerata
Usò ver lui la rabbia, benchè invano :
Perchè la Patria ingrata,
Il consiglio non sano
Conobbe poi, che le levò la soma,
E fu costretta dir, per te son Roma.
Le pompe trionfal, nel tuo cospetto,
Le barbariche spoglie,
Le tempie ornate delle sagre foglie,
Mostran le lode sue ; ma tal concetto
Una parola accoglie ;
Poi che lui solo è detto
Della Patria, per l' opre alte e leggiadre,
Primo liberator, secondo Padre.
Manca la vita, in un tanto superba,
Mancan le sue sant'ale ;
La nostra Dea, contro l' ordin fatale,
Tra'el buon fuor del Sepolcro, e'n vita il serba.

La Vertu sola vale
 Contro la Morte acerba:
 E senza lei, cercar gloria non giova,
 Ma seguendo Vertu, costei si trova.
 Come vedete, seco insieme vanno,
 La Dea Minerva, e Marte;
 Che colla spada, con scienza, e arte,
 A l'huom mortale immortal vita danno:
 E l'haver grate carte,
 Lo ristora del danno;
 Perche come l'allor foglia non perde,
 La Storia, e Poesia sempre stà verde.
 Dunque colui, che'n questo Mondo brama,
 Col generoso cuore
 Vincer l'invidia, e acquistare honore,
 Ne seco seppellir la propria fama,
 Porti alla Patria amore:
 Perchè colui che l'ama,
 E con giustizia difende e governa,
 In Cielo ha vita e fama al mondo eterna.

No. CXVII.

(Page 334.)

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

*Baldassare da Pescia a Lor. de' Med. Flor. Roma,
xi. Mai, 1514.*

MAGNIFICE patrone mi observandissime, &c. Scrivendo hiersera ad V. S. inter cætera della partita del Reverendissimo Gurgense, gli dissi, come la intelligentia et maneggio di queste cose de' Venitiani con lo Imperatore tra Nostro Signore et Gurgense me era cascato in mano, &c. quale è venuto in questo modo; cioè. A dì passati sendosi rotto Gurgense cum Nostro Signore, perchè ne seguiva, ne è anchora seguita, la ratificatione delli Venitiani della pronuntia

facta per Sua Sanctità, et havendo S. S. Reverendissima, in su questa rottura domandato licentia da Nostro Signore et da tutti li Reverendissimi in consistorio, et parendoli dipoi pure male partirsi senza conclusione, o vogliamo dire, senza danari, ha misso el nostro procuratore della Minerva frate Nicolò della Magna cum Nostro Signore Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro, et Frà Piero Quirino Camaldulense, quale tratta quì, oltra le cose de' Venitiani, cose grande, et est apud hos nostros maximæ authoritatis, et non mostrando mosso da lui, è venuto da quattro dì in quà da Monsignore Reverendissimo, et cominciato ad tractare qualcosa sopra questa materia, et per essere lui pure amico nostro, cioè della casa de' Medici, et molto affectionato, gli prestano fede, et per essere lui relligioso non vorrebbe essere veduto ad ogni hora in queste camere, et per essere mio intimo amico con licentia de Monsignore Reverendissimo, ha preso ad comunicare con me tutto quello che lui ha da Gurgense; et per componere et reconciliare S. S. Reverendissima cum Nostro Signore, mediante me, fa intendere ad Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro quello, che occorre ogni hora, et quello, che cave da quella, dimodo che per amore di V. S. ad la quale è deditissima non resta ad fare cosa alchuna di intramettermi in questi negocii, et credo che lui forse se transferirà cum Gurgense dallo Imperatore, come homo di Nostro Signore; il che seguendo, noi saremo ragguagliati ad ogni hora delle cose di là sinceramente; et qui adpresso di Nostro Signore fa pensieri lasciare me con una cifra, et indirizzo de' tutto quello, che tracterà per Sua Sanctità et altri, sicchè la S. V. ha inteso, come la cosa è andata, et per quanto si può ritrarre per li ragionamenti havuti col procuratore. Gurgense uccella ad danari, et ad una Legatione, et se lui havesse dalli Venitiani uno 20, o 25. m. ducati, et da Nostro Signore una Legatione, le cose se reconcilierebbono; ma credo, che arerà in arena, et se non piglia altra via, se ne partirà come vorrà; pure mentre che scrivo, lui, è venuto da Nostro Signore, et se potrò ritrarre, innanzi che io serri la lettera, cosa alchuna, ne farò partecipe V. S.

Monsignore Reverendissimo nostro me dice, che Gurgense si è partito per ritornare qui domattina da Nostro Signore, et non si è conclusa cosa alchuna; concludendosi, se ne darà notitia ad V. S. et dicemi, che Gurgen. gli ha detto, che vuole passare di lì, d'onde conforta quella ad fargli honore, et careze, non però fora dell' ordinario, &c. De Inghilterra qui sono lettere, come quel Rè fa la impresa contro Francia gagliardamente, et di Francia ci sono lettere anchora, quali doverranno essere venute li et però non sene dirà altro.

No. CXVIII.

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Bembi Op. tom. iii. p. 478.

PROPOSTA DI M. PIETRO BEMBO.

Al Principe M. Leonardo Loredano, ed alla Signoria di Vinegia, per nome di Papa Leone X.

PAPA LEONE, Serenissimo Principe, ed Illustrissima Signoria, il quale ha continuamente servata memoria delle cose, che questo Dominio ha per addietro a beneficio de' suoi Fratelli, e della sua Famiglia amorevolmente molte volte adoperato, ed ha sempre amato il temperamento di questa Repubblica, fondata in santissime leggi, e la prudenza, e la gravità sua; mentr' egli è stato in minor fortuna, con tutti que' modi, co'quali s'è per lui potuto, ha cerco, e procacciato il comodo, e l' onor vostro, e sempre d' ogni vostra avversità s' è doluto non altramente, che se questa Città la medesima Patria sua stata fosse, e dappoi pervenuto al Ponteficato, quantunque incontanente chiudeste voi la Lega col Re di Francia, senza farneli alcuna cosa sentire; nondimeno, vincendonelo il paterno affetto suo si dispose di fare ogni opera che voi lo stato vostro reintegraste, ed a questo fine tentando, e movendo, come si suol dire, ogni pietra, e con lo 'mperadore, e col Re di Spagna, e spesovi sopra molto

tempo, e molti pensieri, posciachè egli vide non potergli a conveniente pace indurre con voi, come che egli assai chiaro per le passate sperienze conoscesse di quanto pericolo era favorir Francesi, ed in Italia richiamargli, pure fermatosi in sul volere, che questa Signoria recuperasse tutto il perduto, incominciò a procurar la pace tra 'l Re d'Inghilterra, ed il Re di Francia, e quella condotta al fin suo, confortò, siccome sa la Serenità vostra, il detto Re di Francia al venire in Italia, affine, che da quella venuta ne seguisse il beneficio di questa Repubblica; la qual fu cosa, che forte offese gli animi degli altri Principi mal contenti di sua Santità rendendogli tutti. Ma tuttavia ne anco questo giovando, e tardando il Re la sua venuta, o perchè non la curasse molto, stanco, e sazio del guerreggiare, e dello spendere anco egli, o perchè così volesse N. Sig. Dio, che per altra, e più sicura via deliberato avesse di rassettare, e tranquillar le cose vostre, e quelle della conquassata Italia, è avvenuto, che i nemici del Re si sono in questo tempo, e spazio deliberati, e risoluti, e preparati alla difesa di modo, che nessuna speranza chi sanamente considera, aver più si può sopra lui, come intenderete. Laonde nè con lo 'mperadore, nè col Re Cattolico avendo nostro Signore trovato modo di soddisfar a voi, e di racchetarvi, nè col Re Cristianissimo sperando di poterlo ritrovar più, egli si stava in grande affanno, e travaglio d'animo, e di mente tutto sospeso. Nel qual travaglio dimorando egli molto mal contento, solo per lo non si potere esso risolvere a beneficio di voi, e tuttavia intrattenendo lo 'mperadore, ed il Re Cattolico, e tanto ancor più, quanto meno si poteva sopra Francia fondamento alcun fare, sopraggiunsero le novelle Turchesche, e la rotta, e sconfitta che si disse il Gran Turco aver dato al Sofì. Le quali novelle forte commovendo l'animo di Sua Beatitudine, conoscendo egli prima, e potissima cura sua dovere essere, lo avere, alla salute della Cristiana comunanza risguardo, egli in tutto si rivolse a procurar la unione de' Principi Cristiani, per potere, fatto ciò, mandare avanti la tante volte in vano e pensata, e ragionata, e propòsta impresa, e guerra contra Turchi, siccome a buono, e vigilante Pontefice si

conveniva, non lasciando per tutto ciò di sollecitare Cesare ed il Cattolico alla restituzion dello Stato della Serenità vostra, e così ne scrisse a' Principi tutti, a cui di ciò s'apparteneva di scrivere, e sopra tutto caldissimamente a Cesare, come vedeste. Anzi non ben contento di confortargli, e pregargli alla detta unione per lettere, si dispose di mandar loro Legati a questo fine, e specialmente Monsignor lo Cardinale di Santa Maria in Portico allo 'mperadore. La qual deliberazion fatta da lui, venutogli poi parendo che il mandarlo Legato si traesse dietro più lunga dimora, e tempo per gli impedimenti, che la legazione ha seco; desideroso della reintegrazion di questo Dominio, si dispose di mandarnelo privato Nunzio, più guardando all' effetto dell' andata sua, ed al poter tanto più tosto procurare il comodo della Signoria vostra, che all' onor del Cardinale a se carissimo, come sapete. Dovendo egli adunque andare in Lammagna, e già s'era presso, che posta in iscrittura, e fornita tutta la commission sua, la quale io vidi, e lessi, di vero, Signori, tanto favorevole alle cose vostre, che pareva che nostro Signore il mandasse più tosto Nunzio di questa Repubblica, che suo; ragionando cgli meco sopra la commission predetta molte cose, cgli forte si dolea, e rammaricava, che Bergamo alla divozion dell' Imperadore tornata fosse, affermandomi, che a lui avrebbe dato il cuore di fare assai a beneficio vostro, se quella Città si fosse mantenuta per voi. Ora essendo a questo termine, ed in tale stato le cose, ebbe nostro Signore dal Re Cattolico per lettere di 6. del mese prossimamente passato, che cgli chiudesse la pace tra Cesare, e la Serenità vostra, con restituzion di tutto lo Stato vostro, da Verona in fuori, pagandone voi all' Imperadore dugento mila fiorini d'oro, o quel più, che necessario fosse a giudizio di sua Beatitudine, la qual cosa avutasi a 25. del detto mese, fe risolver nostro Signore, il quale per addietro molte volte v' avea pensato, di confortar voi ad accettare il partito. E così l' altra mattina per tempissimo, fattomi a se chiamare, mi scoperse questa risoluzione sua, e ordinommi, che io mandassi dicendo all' Ambasciator vostro, ed al Cardinale e Grimano, e Cornelio, che eglino venissero a lui, im-

ponendomi, che io mi vi trovassi ancora io. A' quali egli parlò, quanto per lettere dell' Ambasciatore, e forse delle loro Signorie dee avere vostra Serenità inteso a bastanza. Ma l' altro di poi, che fu a' 27. non rimanendo egli ben soddisfatto di fare intendere a questa Città per lettere la detta risoluzione sua, deliberò mandarle una voce viva per maggiore espressione dell' animo suo, estimando egli, che questa proposta bene intesa, e accettata da voi, si tiri dietro la salute, non accettata forse la ruina di questa Repubblica. Ed ellesse me a questo officio, sì perchè io potessi a voi buona testimonianza rendere della sua mente, che e dentro, e di fuori sèmpre l'avea veduta, e sì acciocchè questa Signoria essendo io de' suoi, più fede mi avesse a prestare in ciò, che io le dicessi: commettendomi, che venuto qui più tosto, e con più diligenza, che io facessi alla Serenità vostra intendere, che avendo egli deliberato procacciar primieramente la salvezza della Cristiana Comunanza, siccome principalissima parte del suo Ufficio: perciò, che s' è vero, che il Turco abbia rotto, e sconfitto il Sophi, è bene armarci noi di modo, che tornando egli potente, e superbo da quella vittoria, egli non la possa offendere: se è falso, come anco si dubita, e vero sia, che dal Sophi sia stato vinto il Turco, questo appunto è il tempo da fare arditamente la impresa contre lui; e non volendo starsi e consumar più lungo tempo in trame, ed in consigli senza conclusione alcuna, siccome egli stato era tutto questo tempo del suo Pontificato; egli s'era del tutto risoluto a confortar questa Città e pregarla con tutta l' autorità del paterno affetto suo verso lei a prendere, e ad accettar questo accordo. E dice, che ella il faccia primieramente per onore, e riverenza di Dio, acciocchè nol prendendo voi, e perciò sturbandosi la union de' Prencipi Christiani; che tutta, rassettati, e riuniti Voi con l'Imperio, agevol cosa fia, che si fornisca e a capo se ne venga in brevi giorni, la Chiesa di Dio, e la Santa fede sua ed i suoi popoli, non ne ricevano qualche scorno. Secondamente per rispetto di lui, e per trarlo di questa noja, nella quale egli è stato tutto questo tempo, solo per cagion della restaurazion vostra. A quali se egli avuto riguardo non avesse, il pri-

mier di del suo Ponteficato, egli averebbe potuto racchettar le cose di quella santa Seggia, e della Patria sua, siccome le avesse sapute disegnare, e ordinare egli stesso. Ma soprattutto vuole nostro Signore, che voi vi moviate a ciò per beneficio vostro. Conciosiacosa, che men male è, anzi pur vie meglio, lasciando Verona, la quale, chi ben considera, si dipone, e sequestra più tosto a breve tempo, che ella si lasci; e pagando quella somma di denari, la quale si pagherà in buona parte con tempi, e con agevolezze, ricuperar tutto il rimanente del vostro grande, e bello Stato, e alle guerre por fine, che volendo voi Verona, e non l'avendo, poichè ella pure sotto l'Imperio è al presente, per questa cagion porre a manifestissimo periglio tutto esso vostro Stato, e per avventura forse anco la libertà di questa Repubblica. E dice Nostro Signore, e argommenta così; due cose sono ora in elezion vostra, o la pace con lo 'mperadore, o l'amistà col Re di Francia. Dalla pace con lo 'mperador ne seguono alla Serenità vostra tutte queste cose: prima di presente la ricuperazione di quelle Terre vostre, le quali non possedete, insieme con l'uso e l'utilità di loro, fuori solo Verona. Appresso le rendite, e la utilità d'alquante altre che possedete, ciò sono Crema, Vicenza, Padova; e per dir più il vero, quasi l'utile di tutta la vostra terra ferma, che sapete bene, quanto voi ne traete a questi tempi. Da poi poi il mancar delle spese degli esserciti; che per cagion della guerra necessariamente nutrir si convengono. A questo modo in un punto voi e le vostre rendite crescerete, e le spese sciemerete: che sono le due cose, che ritornar possono nel pristino vigore, e color suo questa Repub. Da poi cesserete le noje, e gli affanni, che sapete quanti, e quanto varj, e quanto gravi sono con voi stati sì lungamente, e vi partorirete quiete, e riposo assai oggimai necessario a questa Città, ed a' popoli vostri. Da poi non isporrete più a periglio la somma dell' Imperio Vostro, e vi leverete questa spina dell' animo, che a ciascuna ora lo dee stimolare, e pugnere; del dubbio, e del sospetto, che per un disordine, o per una sconfitta del vostro Esercito, o per alcun tradimento di qualche suddito, di qualche condottier vostro, o per altri

molti somiglianti errori, che avvenir possono, se ne vada, e perdasì il tutto. E ricordivi bene, quante volte questi non molti anni addietro avete cagione avuta di timerne. Oltre ciò a questo cammino andando entrerete per la via medesima di ricuperar Verona istessa. Perciocchè è openion di molti savj uomini, che quando bene il Re di Francia venisse in Italia, e ricuperasse a questa Signoria il suo Stato, non perciò potrà egli ricuperarle Verona, essendo allo 'mperador agevolissimo mandarvi sempre buona quantità di fanti a difenderla, come egli fatto ha più volte. Laddove facendo voi pace con lui, e per la pace levandogli il pensare alle cose della Italia, come gli leverete, egli senza dubbio entrerà in nuove imprese, o alle cose della Borgogna, alle quali par già volto, o all' acquisto dell' Imperio di Constantinopoli, facendosi la impresa contra Turchi, o in altri disegni, e pensamenti, e trame, che gli sono sempre cosa molto naturale, e molto propria, per ciascuna delle quali essendo necessario, che gli venga bisognando aver buona quantità di moneta, eziandio, che voi non voleste, si vorrà egli darvi Verona, e renderlavi, e così la ricupererete voi con agevolezza, ed al sicuro. Non potrà uno animo grande, e vasto come il suo è, avendo con voi pace, non aver di voi uopo bene spesso, oltra che bella, e grande loda così facendo acquisterete dal mondo tutto, e opinione, che siate buoni e pacefici, e cessar farete quella voce, che si dà a questa Repubblica d' aspirar grandemente all' Imperio della Italia, la qual voce, non accettando voi il proposto partito, si confermerà, e stabilirà nella mente di ciascuno; stimandosi, che nessun altri ricusare il potessero; specialmente essendo egli a beneficio di tutti i popoli Cristiani, e desiderandosi ciò per dar modo alla union de' Prencipi, perchè ne segua la guerra contra gl'infideli, se non spiriti, che ostinatamente affettino, e attendano alla Signoria del tutto. Il che dice N. Sig. che non dee ultima cosa essere in considerazione appo voi. Queste sono le parti utili congiunte con la pace. Vegga ora la Serenità vostra, e ben consideri, quali e quanti danni partorir vi potrà il voler continuare, e mandare innanzi l'amistà de' Francesi, nella qual considerazione, dice

N. Sig. così. O il Re di Francia verrà in Italia, o egli non ci verrà. Se verrà, veduto che essendogli voi sempre buoni amici stati, ed avendogli mantenuta ottima leanza, anzi pure avendosi questa Signoria tirata addosso la guerra dell' Imperadore, e la sua nimistà solamente per lo avere voluto ella servare al Re fede, e per tale e tanto rispetto dovendovi egli eterno obbligo sentire, egli nondimeno vi ruppe guerra senza cagione alcuna averne, accordandosi, e legandosi col vostro nimico medesimo, fattovi nimico per suo conto, e per lo non gli avere voi voluto consentire il Ducato di Melano, che era del Re, nella qual guerra egli di tutta la terra ferma, che tenevate, vi spogliò, sopra cui, nè in tutta, nè in parte egli ragion niuna non ebbe giammai: che si dee credere, che egli ora debba voler fare, ragionevolmente dee in odio avere tutto il nome Viniziano, vedendo egli, che ogni Viniziano grandissima cagione ha di sempre odiar lui, dal quale tanti nostri danni, tanti travagli, tante ruine sono procedute? Ed ora dico, che egli potrà dire d'avere alcuna giurisdizione sopra Crema, e Bergamo, e Brescia, che sono alquanti anni state sue. Non credete, voi, che egli penserà di ripigliarlesi, almeno per torre a voi modo d'esser grandi, e di potere a qualche tempo vendicarvi di lui? Crediatelo, crediatelo, oltre gli altri argomenti, eziandio per quello del capitolo, che egli col Re d'Inghilterra fece a questa Signoria ben palese, e ben chiaro, che dimostra chente l'animo di lui sia d'intorno alle cose della Lombardia, ed alle giurisdizion sue sopra le terre vostre. Che se giudicaste, che egli avesse fatto lega con voi per altro, che per valersi di questo Stato alla ricuperazion di Melano, voi di troppo sareste errati. Non vi vuole ora essere amico colui, che esser non volle, quando egli devea, e vi fe inganno; ma vuole di voi giovarsi, ed apprestarsi al potervi ingannare un'altra volta. Ma posto pure, che egli non pensi allo 'nganno, non istarete voi almeno in gelosia sempre di lui? Nol temerete? E per dir più il vero, nol temerete per le passate prese da voi spe-rienze della sua fede, potendo egli con una trombetta dalla mattina alla sera torvi lo Stato tutto? O non bisognerà per questa temenza, e rispetto, che gli siate sempre sottoposti,

sempre ad ubbidienza, sempre servi? Ora qual perdita, Serenissimo Principe, è maggiore, o può essere di questa? Qual Verona può contravalere, e ristorar questa servitù, questo ragionevolissimo sospetto, questa continua paura? ma chi sa, che prima, che egli venga, per agevolar la sua venuta, che parer gli dee vie più che malegevole, egli non sia per pigliar con l'Imperadore, e col Re Cattolico accordo, e lasci loro lo Stato vostro, che essi hanno in preda, promettendo loro ancora di ajutarli a pigliare il rimanente? Io so ben tanto, Serenissima Signoria, che sono venute a nostro Signore novelle di buona parte, che gli fanno intendere, ch'il Re di Francia pensa di lasciarvi per ogni piccolo acconcio suo, e tanto nol fa, quanto egli ancora nol trova. Or se ciò adivenisse che non sarebbe cosa guari lontana dall' usanza di questo Re, il quale veggiamo aver lasciati gli Scozzesi, antichi e perpetui suoi amici e confederati, in preda degl'Inglesi, ed i Navarresi in preda degli Spagnoli, de' quali due popoli l' un Re ha perduto lo stato suo per lui, l'altro prese col cognato, che Re d'Inghilterra è, guerra per rivocarlo dall' impresa contra Francesi, ed è in quella guerra morto a lui servendo, se questo, dico, adivenisse, non direbbe ognuno, dice nostro Signore, che a voi bene stesse ogni male, che vi siate fidar voluti di chi una volta ingannati vi ha così laidamente, e specialmente con tanti esempj innanzi gli occhi aver d' altrui, a cui egli ha fatto questo medesimo inganno? La qual cosa Dio non voglia, che dire si possa giammai di questa così prudente, e grave, e saggia Signoria, e Repub. Queste cose, e queste parti tutte da considerar sono, che avvenir possano, venendo il Cristianissimo in Italia, o per composizione, o per forza; conciosiacosa, che per semplice amore, e di volontà degli altri Principi, egli non è per venirci giammai. Ma se egli non viene, o non tentando la venuta, o tentandola, e risospinto essendone, siccome egli l'anno passato fu, a qual termine, a qual partito vi troverete esser voi, avendo rifiutato l'accordo, e la pace, che ora vi si propone, e per ciò avendovi voi oltra l'Imperio, e la Spagna, fatta nimica tutta l'Italia? non riman questo Dominio in preda certa, e manifesta de' suoi nimici? Per Dio,

Signori, guardate che a voi non si possa dire quel proverbio, *Essi tardo hanno apparato a sapere*; e ricordivi, che la penitenza da sezzo non giova. E' di mestiero, che altri s'avegga per tempo di quello che danneggiar lo può, e schifilo. Ora che il Re non sia per venire in Italia eziandio non tentando di venirci, è non solamente da sospettare, ma ancora grandemente da credere; perciocchè se avendo egli chiusa questi passati mesi la lega col Re d'Inghilterra, ed armato trovandosi con più di ventimila fanti pagati per far la impresa, e potendola egli far di volontà, e consentimento di N. S. e col favore, e con la riputazion, che gli dava in quel tempo quella lega; quando egli averebbe i suoi nimici sopraggiunti sproveduti, e impauriti, sì per altre cagioni, e sì ancor per riverenza di N. S. che favoreggiava il Re, quanto s'è veduto, nulla di meno egli venir non si volle, nè anco invitato, e sollecitato da sua Santità; che si dee credere, che egli debba volere fare a questo tempo, nel quale, e Svizzeri, e Spagnoli, e lo'imperadore, e Melano, Fiorenza, e Genova tutti uniti, e d'un medesimo animo insieme con N. S. non vorranno, che egli ci venga, e saranseglì preparati allo'ncontro; aggiuntogli la nuova, e bella moglie allato, la quale tanto di più gli farà in obbligo metter le guerre. E sono di quelli, che stimano, che queste nozze abbiano a raccorciar la sua vita, anzi pure a farla brevissima, siccome d'uom vecchio non molto continente, preso, e invaghito nell'amor di quella Fanciulla, che più che diciotto anni non ha: la qual si dice esser la più bella cosa, e la più vaga che si sia peraddietro di molti anni veduta in quelle contrade. E già pare, ch'egli incominci a debilitarsi, fatto cagionevole di mala qualità, senza che da stimar non è, che al Rè d'Inghilterra, il quale promesso ha di darli alquanti arcieri per la venuta, sia cara la grandezza sua; conciosiacosa, che il naturale e sempiterno odio di queste due nazioni, non pate, nè permetter può, ch'elleno per leghe, o per parentadi, che si facciano, voglia lo innalzamento, e la grandezza dell'altro. Oltra che sono venute a nostro Signore certissime novelle, acciò che la Serenità Vostra sappia, e scuopra più innanzi, che quando il Cristianissimo richiederà quegli arcieri, che

il cognato Re se gli è obbligato di dare, egli si troveranno ben cagioni, e modi da trarre in lungo la bisogna, e da non dargliele. Ma questo tanto Serenissimo Prencipe, per amore di Nostro Signore, che ve ne priega, si rimanga sotto perpetuo silenzio di questa Signoria. E' adunque da stimare, che il Re di Francia non sia per mettersi a passare in Italia, o per poca voglia di guerreggiare, o per desiderio di riposo, o perchè egli vegga siccome vederà, il varco molto malagevole, e mal sicuro. E se pure egli vorrà farlo, vedete Signori in quale stato sono le cose a questo diè. Svizzeri si sono deliberati, e promettono, e si vantano soli, e senza favore, o soldo di persona, di nol lasciar passar occupandogli i passi, ed al varco opponendoglisi, o pure passar lasciandolo, di chiudernelo nel mezzo, e di far la giornata e rompernelo vie meglio, che eglino a Novara l'anno passato non fecero, e hanno già descritti, e apparecchiati quaranta mila fanti tutti d'un volere per la impresa da spignerli avanti ogni volta, che 'l Re di voler venire farà segno. De'quali tutti ogni bella cosa creder si può, quando s'è veduto, che solo ottomila di loro sconfissero un cotanto essercito, e si bene instrutto l'hanno varcato. Ma non fien soli Svizzeri a ciò fare. Perciocchè Genovesi le lor forze vi aggiugneranno. Ed ho io vedute lettere di quel Doge scritte a 20. del passato per le quali egli si proferisce di spendere 250,000. fiorini d'oro a favor dell'impresa, e dice aver modo di trovargli senza danno alcuno, e con sodisfazione di quella Città. Aggiugneranvi medesimamente le loro forze eziandio Fiorentini; perciocchè vedendo N. Sign. Svizzeri, Melano, Spagna, lo'imperio, e Genova d'uno spirito, non vuole mettergli a rischio; ma gli lega con costoro tutti a fine, che siano dalla parte sicura. I quali se hanno da contribuire alle spese, non è da dubitare. Ma acciocchè voi Signori questo particolare intendiate, promette il Magnifico Lorenzo in due di trovar in quella Città, e mettere insieme dugentomila fiorini di oro ad ogni richiesto di N. Sig. e ad ogni cenno suo. E sono queste due poste sole, un gran numero, come vedete. Non vi mancherà il Re Cattolico, non lo'imperadore, non il Duca di Melano, il quale solo si vede,

che tanto può, che a voi più noja dà, che egli non vi bisognerebbe. E per chiuder la somma del tutto, non vi mancherà Nostro Signore, il quale si vuol dichiarire, e non istar neutrale più oltra; periocchè spronandolo la cura delle Cristiane cose, a lui non par questo tempo di starsi pendente più lungamente. Puossi per queste ragioni tutte al sicuro conchiuder, Signori, che il Re di Francia passare in Italia non potrà, e fie ributtato incontrandolo cotante potenze alla resistenza del passo. La qual cosa se avverrà, dove si troverà questa Signoria? Non fia ella manifesta, ed aperta preda di Barberi? Quantunque stima Nostro Signore, e crede, che eglino non abbiano a dover indugiarsi a quel tempo, ma tiene per fermo, che incontanente, che voi arete il partito rifiutato che ora vi si propone, chiusa la lega, che si chiuderà senza dimora, essi se ne verranno a danni vostri, per torvi il modo di poter dar favore ed ajuto a Francesi. La qual cosa è molto ragionevole per se stessa. Che se eglino averanno deliberato di contrastare al Re, medesimamente contrastar voranno a suoi collegati, e per non avere a far cotanto ad un tempo, a loro profitto fia lo incominciare da voi e debilitarvi. Questo teme di voi N. S. sopra ogni cosa, e questo medesimo temendo egli alla Patria sua, e ciò è, che se Fiorentini d'entrare in lega con gli Svizzeri, e con gli altri loro collegati si ritraessero, essi ne venissero direttamente a danni loro, siccome hanno di voler fare apertamente minacciato, veduto oltre a ciò, che ad esso pare, che'l Sig. di sopra, volendo egli al tutto liberare la Italia da Barberi, voglia cominciare a liberarla da Francesi, ha conchiuso di risolversi con la Italiana parte. E dagli il cuore d'indurre eziandio il Re di Francia con alcun tributo, che gli dia il Duca di Melano a starsi di là da'monti, amorevolmente mostrandogli la impossibilità del venire, come mostrare agevolmente si può a chiunque udire voglia il vero. Fatto prima questo discorso con voi, e questo ragionamento, che vi fa chiare le ragioni, che N. Signore muovono alla presa diliberazione sua, nella quale egli sempre altrettanto rispetto ha della vostra Repubblica, e di voi avuto, quanto egli ha tuttavia della sua medesima Patria, e de' suoi, e per

la cui salvezza tutto il tempo del suo Ponteficato egli s'ha molte cure, molti pensieri, molte fatiche prese, tenendo ora per certissimo questo esser il ben vostro, m'ha imposto, che con la benedizione sua accompagnata da quella di Dio, io vi conforti e prieghi, lasciando le passion particolari, a riverenza della Divina Maestà, ed a sicurezza della Cristiana comunanza, a prendere al tutto e ad accettar la condizion, che egli vi propone, di racquistar tutto lo Stato vostro, da Verona come s'è detto, in fuori; con pagamento delli dugento mila fiorini d'oro, o alcuna cosa più, secondo che conchiuder si potrà il meno, promettendovi nondimeno egli per se, e per nome del Cattolico Re, di fare ogni opera, e tenere ogni via, che Verona eziandio più tosto, che si possa, vi ritorni, e d'intraporre in ciò tutta l'autorità di quella santa Seggia, e sua, dal pigliar le arme contra Cesare in fuori; e vuole, che io vi dica che se voi non volete ciò fare per conto della presente vostra utilità, e prò, essendovi la ricuperazion e racquisto delle altre terre vostre ora dal vostro nimico possedute, e per lo respiramento, e quiete, che darete a questa città, ed agli altri vostri popoli, e ben sapete, se fa loro di ciò mestiero, se far nol volete per cagion della ruina, che per molti capi addosso vi si tira l'amistà de' Francesi, se non anco per rispetto di lui, che così paternamente s'è adoperato, e faticato a beneficio vostro cotante altre volte, ed ora in questo consiglio medesimo si fatica più che giammai; si vogliate voi per cagion del Figliuol di Dio farlo, la salvezza, e gloria della fede, e de' popoli, del quale principalmente si studia, e si procaccia con questo accordo, e a lui Verona doniate in luogo di tante altre città, di tanto imperio, di tanta, e sì lunga libertà, e Repubblica, che il suo Omnipotentissimo Padre ha donato a voi, il quale molto tosto vi potrà non solo ritornar Verona, ma ancora restituirvi cotanto altro Stato, che il Turco possiede di questa Signoria, e farvi più grandi, e più gloriosi, che mai. La quale speranza, se niuno altro rispetto non vi movesse, si vi dovrebbe ella muovere, e spignere a pigliar questo assettamento, acciò che si faccia la guerra contra gl' Infideli, la qual facendosi, chi non vede, che questa Signoria se ne

ingrandirà più che prencipe veruno altro, ed in istato, ed in riputazion sempiterna? Ultimamente vuole nostro Signore, che io chiaramente vi dica, e vi protesti, che se voi ora a questi dì, alla pronunzia mia, la proposta condizione non accetterete, come che egli sia per ciò fare con le lacrime a gli occhi, siccome colui, che teneramente ama questa Signoria, pure tuttavia estimandovi egli per questa ostinazione, e durezza, e perfidia, nè buoni, nè giusti, nè riposati, egli il farà con men dolore, vi protesti dico, che egli incontanente lascerà la protezion vostra, e non vorrà più di voi, e dello stato, e delle cose vostre niuna cura, niun pensiero pigliarsi; a quali se calamità, di ciò ne verrà, e ruina, e dissoluzione, dice, che voi non arete da imputarne altri, che voi stessi. Egli innanzi tratto se ne scuserà co' Prencipi tutti, e farà loro intendere quanto egli faticato s'è a beneficio di questo Dominio, e la reproba ostinazion vostra. Sopra tutto mi ha imposto, che io vi dica, che voi non crediate, che egli così apertamente vi protesti, per indurvi a quello, che si cerca, e che se ben voi non accetterete la pace, egli però non farà tutto quello, che egli dice di dover fare, nè egli in preda di Barberi vi lascerà, non tornando ciò a profitto, nè della Seggia di Roma, nè della Patria sua; perciocchè voi di ciò ingannati vi trovereste; E vuole, che io a memoria vi ritorni, che nè anco il Duca di Melano, detto Lodovico, credette che questa S. dovesse poter far lega col Re di Francia a danni di lui; perciocchè egli non era a prò e bene del vostro Stato, aver così grande e così potente vicino, siccome nel vero non era. Nondimeno egli rimase di ciò ingannato, e voi con Francia vi legaste; di che ne seguì in brevissimo spazio la sconfitta, e la presura sua. Dice ancora, che io vi ricordi, che per lo non voler questa Signoria lasciar Faenza, e Rimini, o forse anco una sola di queste terre alla Chiesa, a tempo del Predecessor suo, ella ne perdè in pochi mesi tutto il suo Stato così grande, e così bello, e così potente, come egli era, e perciò vi conforti a non volere ora, a tempo di lui, a posta di Verona, la quale come detto s'è, si dee credere, che si dipositi solamente, e sequestri, perder tutto il rimanente, e peravventura, il che Dio non vog-

lia, eziandio la libertà della Repub. conservata cotanti secoli. Vuole più ultimamente, che io ancora vi dica, che non crediate con lo star duri, e ritrosi a questo, e costanti nella lega co' Francesi, tirar lo'mperadore, e il Re Cattolica a rendervi cziandio Verona per ispiccar, e scioglier da Francia questa Sign. quasi necessitati a ciò, se vogliono la vittoria contra il Cristianissimo. Perciò che questo, che vi si propone ora è lo scaglion Sezzajo, al quale costoro scendono più tosto per soddisfare a Sua Santità, che sì lungamente ha sopra ciò battuto, e chiesto, e conteso, che vi sia restituito il vostro, che per altro: parendo loro, che se lo'mperadore vi ritorna Begamo, e Brescia che egli ha, possiate voi onestamente lasciare a lui Verona, che non avete. E se forse la Signoria vostra pensasse, che il Re di Spagna questo tentamento facesse per mettervi alle mani, e ad astiarvi col Francese, e volessesi egli poi accordare, e legare a danni vostri con esso lui, promette N. S. esservi mallevadore in ciò che tanto appieno osservato vi sarà, quanto egli ora vi propone. Fin quì ho parlato, Serenissimo Principe, siccome Nuncio di Nostro Signore, e come ispressor dell' animo suo, e dichiaratore, e apportatore della sua mente. Ora parlerò io come Pietro Bembo Cittadino, e Servitor vostro, disideroso dell' onore, e del bene di questa Communanza al pari di ciascuna delle Signorie vostre, che quì siete. Io Signori, quando da nostro Signore mi fu imposto il venire in diligenza a questa Signoria; quantunque alla età, e alla complession mia, l'una non verde, e l'altra non robusta, e all' esercizio mio, assai lontano da ciò, non si convenga l'andare per istaffetta, e questa inusitata fatica a me paresse molto grave, specialmente a questi guazzosissimi, e fierissimi tempi; nondimeno la pigliai volentieri, estimando di portarvi una buonissima novella, recandovi pace, e quiete, e sicurezza in luogo delle guerre, e de' travagli, e de' pericoli, ne' quali da molti anni in qua stati siete per lo continuo. Nè si pensi alcun di voi, che io sia quì venuto per vendervi ciancie, e menzogne, affine d' acquistar con Nostro Signore grazia, o forse con lo'mperadore, o col Re Cattolico. Che della grazia di questi due Principi se io ne

avessi fatto alcun disegno, prima che ora ingegnato mi sarei d'acquistarla, nè mi sarèi lor dimostrato sempre aperto difensore delle Signorie vostre, come fatto ho senza risguardo. La grazia di Nostro Signore ho io bene desiderata sempre; ed ora più che mai la desidero, e cerco. La qual grazia non posso io acquistare per nessuna via meglio, che lui, ed il suo costume imitando, e di rassomigliar procacciando. Il qual ottimo Prencipe, e d'ottima volontà, e mente essendo, ha quelli suoi serventi più cari, che sono di buona volontà, e di buona mente anco essi. E perciocchè lo adoperarsi alcuno a beneficio della Patria sua cosa buona, e lodevole fu sempre, non che io acquistassi nuova grazia con lui per ingannar la Patria mia, ma io ne perderei quel tanto, o quanto, che posso di lei a questo dì avere acquistato. Ho adunque parlato il vero alle Sign. vostre, siccome colui, che lasciar l'affetto naturale, e l'amor della mia Patria nè debbo, nè posso, nè voglio, ed il quale sempre sono alla parte del bene, e del mal vostro con voi. Laonde più arditamente vi priego, che mi prestiate fede, e crediate, che sotto questa dinunzia mia niuno inganno, niuna fallacia, niuna arte è nascosa. Quanto all' accettar voi, o rifiutar questo partito, fate pur tutto il profitto vostro, e la volontà del Signore del Cielo, il quale io priego a mano giunte, e supplico divotissimo, e inchinatissimo alla sua bontà, e pietà, che egli a quello farvi ispiri, e induca, che è da lui conosciuto essere il bene di voi, e di questa travagliata Signoria. Ma io vi so ben dire, ed affermar questo, che tantosto, che voi rifiutato l'abbiate, si chiuderà la lega dell' omperadore, e del Cattolico, e de' Svizzeri, e di Melano, e di Genova, e di Fiorenza, e di Nostro Signore a commune difesa contra chiunque. La qual lega come sia chiusa, se essendo Nostro Signore con voi, quello, che egli per addietro è stato non ha tuttavia potuto a' nimici vostri alcuna volta qualche cosa negare, che è di danno vostro, e di dispiacer stata, che stimate voi, che egli sia per dover fare ancor che egli contra voglia il faccia, essendosi chiusa detta lega non più contra Francesi, che contra voi? La qual lega, acciocche sappiate tanto oltre, è oggimai e tramata, e ordita. Perciocchè

aspettandosi questa risoluzione del Cattolico, s'è sopra esse e parlato, e disputato molte volte, e disposte tutte le parti di maniera, che elle in un punto prenderanno la lor forma. Daranno alla lega Nostro Signore e Fiorentini mille uomini ad arme, ed ancor più. Ne darà il Cattolico ottocento, Cesare trecento di quei suoi alla Borgognona, Melano quattrocento, che fieno in somma duemila, e cinquecento. E daranno tutti oltre a questi ancor duemila Cavalli leggieri, daranno Fanti delle terre del Papa, e de' Fiorentini, se bisognerà, quanti bisognerà, e fieno i migliori di tutta Italia, e quello che importa più che altro, essi già pensato, e ordinato un nuovo modo a fare, che i denari, che a spendere si haranno per la impresa, sian sempre alla mano, secondo che essi veranno bisognando, e quasi nel mezzo della piazza dello esercito. Perciocchè daranno tutti promessa di banco sicura, quale in Roma, e quale in Melano, siccome più sia espediente, ciascuno per le porzion loro a suoi tempi, che non se ne perderà, o tarderà oncia, e pensano di tirare eziandio Ferrara, e Mantova, e Monferrato, e Saluzzo, e Savoia ad entrare in lega, ed a contribuire alla spesa con esso loro, spignendo in Savoia di presente quattro, o cinque mila Svizzeri, per far quel Duca o per volontà o per forza alle voglie loro declinare, e dichiarirsi loco compagno. E anco si sono tra'l Cattolico, e la casa di Nostro Signore de' parentadi tramati di qualità, che potranno esser poco giovevoli a questa Signoria compiendo essi di tesserli, e non essendo essa con loro. Oltra che a Nostro Signore sono novelle venute dal Commissario suo, che in Verona è, le lettere del quale sempre sono vere state, e ultimamente molto più che S. S. voluto non arebbe, che dicono, che l'Imperadore vuole scendere nel Frigoli. Il che quanto sia per dovervi esser di danno, e di pressura, e d'amaritudine, avendo voi tuttavia, e Spagnuoli, e altri Imperiali da quest'altro lato, voi vel potete considerar di leggiero. Quantunque teme Nostro Signore d'un altro vostro incommodo più importante, e più grave, a cui rimedio alcuno non avete, se eglino si disporranno a darlovi, e non teme giammai Sua Santità senza cagione, che per ventosi romori non si muove

e cioè, che rifiutato per voi l'accordo, gli Spagnuoli, e gl'Imperiali disperatisi della unione, e della pace con voi, non ardano, non dico io, come l'anno passato fecero, alquanti luoghi, ma dico Este, Monselice, Montagnano, Cologno, e forse anco Vicenza, che è loro ispostissima, e appartissima, e da quelle parte, dove essi sono, scorrendo, e Pieve di Sacco, e Campo San Piero, e Cittadella, e Bassiano, ed in sommo venendo in giù, e pel Trivigiano non mettano a fuoco, e fiamma tutte le Castella, tutte le Ville, tutte le Case, e Secessi, e poderi della Nobiltà, e de' Popoli vostri in fin sul lito, ed in su le alghc di questa Citta. Al qual impeto, e furor Barbarico dubita Nostro Signore non poter trovar riparo; in tanto vi si rivolgerà tutto il mondo allo'ncontro. Notate bene Illust. Signori, e avvertite a questo pericolo, di cui vi parlo. Il tutto è vietar l'acqua, che non incominci a rompere; il che agevole suole essere, e farsi leggiermente; che poichè ella incominciato ha e rotto, ella piglia forza, e corso in guisa, che non si può ritener più. Voi per pruova sapete, che cosa è avere il Pontefice nimico. Sapete quel che è rimaner soli contro a molte potenze, e molte forze. Sapete per quanto tesoro si vuole tal volta poter frastornare un mal preso principio, e non giova. Ora, che sete in su l'eleggere, considerate quanto e come sostener potrete l'impeto di cotanto lega quando a poca parte di lei conviene, che cediate, e non sete a sostenerla bastanti. Estimate quanto i Vostri Cittadini, i Vostri Popoli sono contenti, sono abili, sono pronti a portar molti disagi, e molte gravezze più oltre, e troverete, che egli non si può meglio fare, che scansare, e declinare le furie de mali pianeti. Diceva Alfonso il vecchio Re di Napoli un motto di questa maniera, *Chinati, e concitati*. Voi vi chinate alquanto più di quello, che vorreste, non di quello, che ora siete, lasciando allo'imperadore Verona. Ma tuttavia se Voi v'inchinate, e Voi vi acconciate altresì, e chi non sa, che quando altri s'è acconcio, egli più agevolmente inalzar si può, che quando egli cade, e trabocca tuttavia? Pigliate Signori, e accettate la proposta di N. S. con allegro animo, e volto; perciocchè quando voi mostrerete da suoi prudenti,

e amichevoli consigli non volere dipartirvi, e darette segno, di volere in tutto rimettervi nel paterno affetto di lui, voi raccenderete nella sua mente un disiderio di far per voi, e di conservarvi tale, che egli troverà ben modo, vedendo di poter di questo stato quello, che egli vuole, di tosto reintegrarlo del tutto. Date per questa via, alli tanti danni, alle tante conquassazioni vostre, refrigerio, e sostegno. Date questo respiramento a vostri popoli, che stanchi, e vinti dalle tempestose onde della rea, e avversa fortuna Vostra, vi priegano di riposo, ed in sommo date a dividedere al mondo, che nè più pacefici, e riposati uomini, nè migliori Cristiani sono in esso, di voi.

No. CXIX.

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Bembi op. tom. iii. 492, &c.

A Papa Leon. X. a Roma.

Io giunsi qui lunedì, che fu a'quattro, avendo posto nel cammino, che è stato assai malagevole, meno di cinque giorni. E subito fatto intendere a questa Signoria la mia venuta, arei avuto il Martedì mattina udienza, se non che che quella ora era stata promessa ad uno Ambasciatore del Turco, la venuta del quale, e altre cose, che si son dette fanno credere, che'l Turco ricevuto abbia una grande sconfitta dal Sofi. Benchè questi Signori dicano, che per lettere da Costantinopoli si raccerti, il Sofi essere stato inferiore, ed il Turco rimaso Signore della Campagna. Ebbi adunque udienza questa mattina, nella camera del Principe, così richiesta da me, che questa Signoria era per darmela nelle usate lor Sale onoratamente mandandomi ad incontrare, e accompagnare da molti delle lor Sig. per riverenza di vostra Santità. La qual cosa io non volli, vedendo, che all'essere io venuto per le poste, e per pochi dì le molte ceremonie non mi si dovevano, e perciocchè io era stato av-

vertito essere o impossibile, o sommamente malagevole spicar questa Sign. da Francia, per la openion, che hanno di non poter per altra via sperar la reintegrazion del loro Stato, la quale openione ha fatto le radici alte nelle menti di questi Signori, massimamente che tengono certa la venuta di quel Re, e pure il dì, che io giunsi erano venute lettere di Francia con le scritte dello esercito, che s' appresta per l'Italia, che molto gli aveano rallegrati, ho giudicato essere spedito propor loro la commission datami da Vostra Santità molto risoluta, e gagliarda, e mostrar loro vivamente il loro danno, se non accettano il consiglio di lei, e così posto in carta quello, che io a dir loro avea, sì per non mancare in parte alcuna delle cose dettemi da Vostra Santità, e molto più affine, che essi credessero, che io ci fossi venuto con materia ben considerata, e deliberata, lessi a questa Sign. la scrittura, che ora io mando a Vostra Santità, la qual letta, prese il Prencipe tempo a rispondermi, convenendosi trattar la materia prima ne' loro consigli. Pure egli disse allora tanto, come da se, e non per risposta, che io compresi, essermi stato detto il vero, e voler questa Signoria, o non accettar l'accordo, o tirare la risoluzione allungo, sperando forse, che'l tempo a mutare abbia Vostra Santità da questa sentenza. Perchè ho pensato, se io vedrò che fra'l termine, nel quale potranno aver deliberato, e consultato, che questa Sig. non si risolva, d'andare in Collegio, e dire, che io abbia in commissione, che se passato quelli giorni, che fieno stati bastevoli a farmi risposta, essi risoluti non si saranno, io pigli questa irresoluzion loro per negazione, e mi parta, e ritorni a Vostra Santità. La onde avendo io voluto significar loro il tutto, io faccio loro intendere, che se fra due altri dì eglino non mi risponderanno, io mi partirò senza dir loro altro, e così farò se da Vostra Santità non averò nuovo ordine, e se per un breve suo, che esplicasse avermi così ordinato Vostra Santità rinforzasse lo impormi, che io non mi lasciassi tirare in tempo, e gagliardamente di nuovo m'imponesse il protestare a questa Signoria, che si risolva al sì, o al no, altramente che io mi partissi, crederei, che altro che giovar non potesse. Perciocchè io non posso in tutto.

credere, che quando questa Signoria vedrà, che Vostra Santità faccia da dovero, ella consenta mai di perderlasi, e inimicarlasì. Dunque se Vostra Santità desidera trarre questa cosa a buon fine, non è da rimetter punto il sollecitargli alla risoluzione, e il protestargli, che non si risolvendo essi, Vostra San. chiuderà la lega con gli avversarj loro. Il Trivulzi Ambasciator del Cristianissimo è stato oggi appresso mangiare alla Signoria, giudico per intender quello, che io abbia questa mattina proposto per nome di V. San. Sua Sign. ha mandato un suo Cancelliere a visitarmi, e ad offermisi, come Persona di quel Re, che è buon figliuolo di Vostra Beatitudine. Qui s'è già inteso il trattamento del matrimonio del Magnifico Lorenzo nella figliuola della Duchessa di Cardona, e quindi stimano esser nata la nuova intelligenza di Vostra Santità con Ispagna. Bacio umilmente il piede santissimo Vostro. A' 6 di Dicembre 1514. Di Vienna.

A Papa Leon. X. a Roma.

Io scrissi a' 6. del presente, che prima che io proponessi a questa Sign. la commission datami da vostra Beatitudine, avea inteso questi Padri esser molto fissi nella loro lega col Cristianissimo, e malagevole, o forse impossibile cosa essere il potergli smuovere da quel proponimento, e dappoi che io la proposi loro, per la risposta del Prencipe, non perciò datami per riposta, avea compreso così essere il vero. Poscia questi giorni sono stato per diverse vie certificato, che questa Signoria per niente non acceterà il partito, siccome quelli, che credono che impossibile sia vietar la venuta del Cristianissimo in Italia, e quelli, che tengono per indubitato, che Vostra Santità, e chi si legherà con lei, abbia ad essere ingannata dal Cattolico. Perciocchè hanno contezze, siccome essi tengono, certissime, che il detto Cattolico propone tuttavia per un suo Nuncio secreto, che egli ha appresso il detto Re, la restituzion del Ducato di Melano a Sua Maestà, volendolasi pigliar per amica pacificamente, con questa condizione, che egli lasci questa Sig. e dicono, che anco lo'imperadore ha voluto accorda col predetto Cristianissimo con utile del Re. Ma perchè era con danno di

questa Signoria, Sua Maestà accettar non l'ha voluto. Onde se gli tengono grandemente ubbligati, e mancar di fede non gli vogliono. Ha eziandio debilitato la proposta mia ciò, che essi dicono, alcuni di quelli di Vostra Beatitudine avere, appresso la partita mia da Roma, detto all' Ambasciador di questa Signoria, e ad altrui, che se Francesi verranno in Italia, voi sarete Francese. Il che io stimo non sia vero, o se pure vero è, a qualche altro modo sia suto detto da coloro, e con altro sentimento, che interpretato non è stato. Sono ancor venute lettere da Roma particolari, che dicono, che io ho un'altra commissione da Vostra Santità a parte, di promettere a questa Signoria eziandio Verona insieme col rimanente, che promesso le ho. Tutte queste cose accrescono difficoltà alla materia difficilissima da se stessa, aggiunto ancor ciò, che pensano, che Vostra Santità solo per odio del Re Cristianissimo tenti di spiccargli da lui. Perciocchè hanno da alquanti mesi in qua continuate novelle, e dall'Ambasciador loro in Francia, e dal Francese qui, d'un malvagio e acceso animo di quella Maestà incontro Vostra Beatitudine cagion dell'odio, che essi dicono, e non perchè ella vegga così malagevole il suo venire in Italia, come ella il fa, e così possenti, e uniti gli avversarj suoi al vietargliele. V. Santità savissima considererà per questi rispetti tutti quanto sia necessario, che ella continui severamente la somma della commission datami, ed il protesto, che se questi Signori non accettano l'accordo con Cesare, voi gli lascerete, e potrete anco dirlo all'Ambasciador loro, mostrando di avere avuto da me, che io non isperi buona risoluzione della mia proposta, per trovare gli animi qui ostinati, e se anco Vostra Santità con un poco di commozion d'animo, e querela, che questa Sig. non conosca il buon voler vostro verso lei, dirà ciò a quello Ambasciador, mal soddisfatta mostrandosene, fie peravventura vie meglio, e perchè questa Signoria niente ancor m'ha fatto intendere, o aver deliberato, o voler deliberare sopra la proposta di Vostra Santità. Questa mattina ho mandato il Beazzano a sollecitargli, dicendo loro, che se essi non si risolveranno, io sarò astretto a partirmi; così avendo in commission da Vostra Bea-

titudine. Non ho voluto per ancora metter mano a quel protesto, che io scrissi a Vostra Santità avere in animo di far loro, che se eglino fra due dì non si risolvessero, io piglierei la loro irresoluzione per negazione, e mi partirei, aspettando io fra due dì risposta da lei alle mie lettere. Han-nomi risposto, che essi si risolveranno, e risponderannomi. Il Signor Bartolommeo Alviano e qui tre dì sono, e staracci tre altri. Fa sue mostre di Cavalli leggieri a Mergara, volendo ridurre il numero tutto de' cavalli di questa Signoria, che sono assai più di mille, a soli ottocento eletti, come egli dice, che ha fatto delli uomini d' arme, avendogli, e cassi, e rimessi a sua voglià, di modo che egli si crede per la somma di ottocentocinquanta cavalli aver la miglior compagnia, che sia in tutta Italia, e meglio a cavallo. Ieri sera volle, che io seco cenassi, onorandomi molto per nome di Vostra Santità, e molte cose dicendomi da riferire a lei, che tutte in somma tendono a questo fine, di dolersi, che ella non abbia voluto credere agli amorevoli ricordi suoi, e di confortarla ora a non voler fidarsi in altri, che in questa Sign. Raccomandasi a' piedi di Vostra Beatitudine. Il Signor Renzo eziandio è qui. Il Vescovo d'Aste Orator del Cristianissimo è venuto a visitarmi, siccome è servitor del suo Re buon Figliuolo di Vostra Santità, e servitore insieme con tutta la casa, e famiglia sua di Vostra Beatitudine. Parla della venuta del Re in Italia assai modestamente. Io bacio umilmente il santissimo piè di Vostra Beatitudine. Agli 11. di Dicembre 1514. Di Vinegia.

A Papa Leone X. a Roma.

Io fui questa mattina chiamato da questa Sig. la quale mi rispose avere intesa la proposta fattale da me per nome di Vostra Santità questi passati giorni, che io fui alla presenza sua, e quella ben considerata secundo l'uso di questa Repubblica alli loro Consigli rispondermi col Senato in cotal maniera, e fecemi il Prencipe leggere una scritta di questa contenenza. E ciò è, che questa Sig. aveva avuta gratissima la venuta mia, siccome di Ambasciatore di Vostra Beatitudine, di cui questa Repub. è sempre devotissima stata,

toccando in parte la benevolenza mostrata da questa Signoria per addietro all' Illustrissima sua famiglia e come di Cittadin suo e perchè la proposta mia conteneva due capi principali, l'uno era la pace con la Cesarea Maestà con lasciarle Verona, l'altro il mancar dalla lega col Cristianissimo per unirsi con gli altri. Al primo, dice questa Signoria, che Vostra Santità sapientissima può ben considerar di prima, quanto sia a proposito di cotesta Santa Sede, e suo, e di questo Stato, che all'omperadore, nimico non meno della detta Sede, che di questa Signoria, si lasci l'adito di quella Città, da poter perturbar la Italia ad ogni sua posta. Appresso che questa Signoria non solamente non potrebbe credere di aver recuperate quelle Città, che restituir le si vogliono, essendo in poter dell' Imperador sempre che egli volesse, chiuder loro il passo di poterle soccorrere ne'bisogni, ma eziandio, che egli potrebbe tener questo Stato continuamente in travaglio ancor di queste altre, che da Verona in qua sono. Al secondo, che essendo sempre stato in costume di questa Signoria servir fede a' collegati suoi, e avendo questa Repub. molte volte eletto più tosto sostenere gravissimi danni, che romper le leanze, e le confederazioni sue, ella non può ora mancare in ciò, testimoniando a Vostra Santità, che di questo Stato ella si può promettere a beneficio di cotesta Santa Sede, e suo nientemeno, che ella possa della Patria sua. Questa è la contenenza della scrittura, che questa Signoria mi fece leggere per risposta di quanto io le avea proposto per nome di Vostra Santità, con la quale le mando il Beazzano, che per nome mio le dirà le altre cose, che ho stimate esser degne della sua notizia. Alquale siccome a buono, e fedel servo suo, e insieme a secreto, e ingenuo, ella si degnerà darle fede. Bascio a V. San. il santissimo piè non solo per me, ma ancora per nome di mio Padre, che al tutto, se Dio gli concede tanto di vita, vuol venire a basciarlo in Persona. A' 15. di Dicembre 1514. Di Vinegia.

No. CXX.

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*Bembi op. tom. iii. p. 496.**A Monsignor Bernardo Bibiena Cardinal di Santa Maria
in Portico. a Roma.*

RICEVUTE le ultime lettere di V. S. in risposta del Beazzano, che fu a' 27. del passato alle tre ore, mandatemi dal Serenissimo Prencipe, per le quali V. Sign. mi commetteva, che io senza dimora mi partissi e tornassi a N. S. per non dar tempo alla commission sua, la mattina seguente ispeditomi delle mie bisogne particolari, e domestiche fatta collazione entrai in barca, e fui a Chioggia non prima, che la sera a notte, per molto contrario vento, che soffiò quel giorno. Salito poi a Chioggia per le poste, e affrettando il cammino, avendomi il Beazzano scritto, che io venissi tosto a Roma, parendomi pure un bel fatto il correr per questa marina quanto poteano i cavalli avvacciarsi, io fui bene il Sabbatodì alle 20. ore qui in Pesaro, ma così stanco, e battuto, e rotto, che io mi accorsi, che le staffette non sono opera da vecchi, anzi per dir meglio mi confermai in questa openione, che accorto me n'era io molto prima, che io da Roma mi partissi. Passai quella notte non senza qualche alterazione di febbre, nè mi giovarono le carezze, ed i vezzi fattimi da Madonna Emilia, che nel vero furono assai. La Signora Duchessa nostra era nel letto postavisi per lo spavento d' un fuoco, il conforto del qual fuoco, e danno ricevutone è stato quel fuoco, e quel danno, che avete avuto voi costì, riputando bella cosa questi Signori avere il Papa per compagno di questa fortuna, ed in questo lor caso. Parmi vedere a queste parole V. S. ridere, e dire, o bella invenzione, estimando, che io abbia finto il malato per istarmi con questa scusa qui alcun giorno. Per Dio Monsignore mio e per Santi, che io non ciancio. Sono stato tutto ieri sì fiacco, e lasso, e conquassato, che io non mi potea reggere in piè, ed

ho dubitato, e dubito tuttavia averne più, che per una notte. Onde sapendo io, che a V. Sign. increscerebbe il mal mio, che siete amorevole de' servitori vostri, e a Nostro Signore altresì, ho pensato di starmi anco oggi qui, e poi domattina, se peggio non mi sopravverrà, che piaccia a Dio di no, monterò a cavallo, ma non per le poste, e verrommene con le calcatore, che mi presta il Signor Duca a buone giornate. A quello, che V. Sig. mi scrisse, che pigliando io comiato dalla Signoria, domandassi come da me, quello, che essi spenderebbono quando potessero ricuperar Verona, le rispondo, che sì perchè io avea già presa licenza da loro, e fu il dì seguente a quello, nel quale io ebbi la risposta di quella Signoria fatta alla proposta di N. Sig. e sì perciò avendo la predetta Signoria per contezze avute da Roma sempre aspettato, che io le proponessi quell' altro partito, siccome commissione avuta da sua Santità a parte, se io mi fossi tornato alla Signoria, e avessi loro accennato, comunque si volesse cotesto, essi si sarebbon confermati in tutte le altre cose, che hanno avuto da Roma, e specialmente in quella, che N. S. non sia per ispiccarsi da loro così, come io ho lor detto, anzi che sua Santità non possa far senza essi, e si sarebbon peravventura levati tanto in su con le speranze loro, che arebbon voluto essi esser pregati avendo ad accettare il partito; laonde mi parve di tacerla, quanto, a quelli Signori: estimando, che poi di costà si potesse ciò fare con più riputazion di nostro Sig. e più loro utilità, conciossiacosachè il dar loro ansa da insuperbire sia il danno di quella Repubblica. E' vero, che avendo io a cenar quella medesima sera, che io ebbi le lettere vostre, e fu l' ultima, che io in Vinegia fui, casa M. Luigi Soranzo Genero di M. Paolo Cappello, che è del Consiglio de' X. il quale anco vi sì dovea trovare, e trovovvisi tornando alle quattro ore di notte del detto Consiglio, mi parve opportuno dire a lui quanto V. S. mi commetteva, siccome da me, e con modo, che ciò non gli avesse ad alzar più, offerendomi, se io era buono a fare cosa alcuna, che piacesse loro, che essi m' adoperassero, la qual cosa tutta nondimeno stimo sia da loro stata accettata con poco frutto. Scrissi a nostro Signore quella sera, che io da

Padova ritornai, che fu a' 23. il Sig. Renzo esser venuto a Roma. Il che non fu vero, ma fu a pruova finto da quelli Signori, e fattol dire, e credere, siccome cosa verisimile molto, affine che non si sapesse, che eglino lo rimandavano in Crema, temendo non egli potesse essere intrapreso, e ritenuto in alcun luogo di quelli, per li quali esso a passare avea. Di che ne sospettavano alquanto. Mandaronlo con molta diligenza, avendo di Lombardia alcuni sentori avuti, che gli confermarono vie più in una speranza, nella quale già erano, e ciò è, che uno delli confederati con Nostro Sign. s' avesse a spiccar da lui, o a non entrare in lega con sua Santità, e pare, che questo sia il Doge di Genova. Anco di Nostro Signore non hanno mai temuto quello, che io ho protestato loro, e stavanne al partir mio di buona voglia assai. Ho voluto dar questi pochi avvisi a V. S. per lettere, poichè io portargliele a bocca così tosto, come io volea, non posso. Alla cui buona grazia bacio la mano, pregandola mi raccomandi a Monsig. mio de' Medici, ed al mio Sig. Magnifico. Bacio i piedi santissimi di nostro Signore. Il primo dì dell' anno 1515. Di Pesaro.

END OF VOL. II.

